

ON THE ORIGINAL INHABITANTS OF
BHARATAVARSA OR INDIA

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THE ORIGINAL INHABITANTS
OF
BHARATAVARṢA OR INDIA

BY
GUSTAV OPPERT PH D

Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology Presidency College Madras
Telugu Translator to Government
Curator Government Oriental Manuscripts Library
&c &c &c



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PREFACE

THE main object of this work is to prove from existing sources, so far as they are available to me, that the original inhabitants of India, with the exception of a small minority of foreign immigrants belong all to one and the same race, branches of which are spread over the continents of Asia and Europe and which is also known as Finnish, Ugrian or Turanian. The branch which is domiciled in India should, according to my opinion, be called *Bharatan*, because the Bharatas were in olden times its most numerous and most honoured representatives, after whom the country received its name *Bharatvarsa* or *Bharatavarsa*.

The favoured spots in which, in primeval periods, men preferred to select their dwellings, were the highlands, hills, and mountains, for these regions afforded greater protection not only against the attacks of men and of wild beasts, but also against the fury of the unfettered elements, especially against the ravages of sudden and disastrous inundations. Though the plains were not altogether uninhabited, still the bulk of the population preferred, where obtainable, the higher and more secure places. I believe that the Bharatas were essentially a race of mountaineers, and that their name is intimately connected with the Gauda Dravidian root *para*, *parai*, mountain, a circumstance to which I draw attention.¹

The Bharatas divided at an early date into two great sections, which were known in antiquity, as Kuru-Pañcalas and Kauravas and Pandavas, and afterwards as Gaudians and Dravidians, and as Kurnvas or Kurumbas and Mallas or Malayas, etc. All these names, too, are derived from words which denote mountains. However nearly related these tribes were to each other, they never lived together in close friendship, and although they were not always perhaps at open war, yet feelings of distrust and aversion seem always to have prevailed.

Though positive evidence in favour of my assertions was very difficult to obtain, still, it was incumbent on me to verify my statements by the best means available. In order to do so, I had to betake myself to the fields of language and religion, which in matters of this kind are the most reliable and precious sources of information. For language and religion manifest in a peculiar manner the mental condition of men, and though both differ in their aim and result, yet the mind which directs and animates both is the same, so that though they work in different grooves, the process of thinking is in both identical. Besides the mental character, we must not neglect the physical complement which is supplied by ethnology, and in this case the physical evidence of ethnology supports thoroughly the conclusions at which I had arrived from consulting the language and religion of the inhabitants of India.

In the first two parts I have treated separately of the two branches of the Bharatas, relying mainly on the linguistic and historical material at my disposal concerning the ethnological position of the Dravidians and Gaudians. The principal Gauda-Dravidian tribes who live scattered over the length and breadth of the vast Indian continent are, in order to establish their mutual kinship, separately introduced into this discussion. This method

may create in the minds of some readers an impression that the several topics are somewhat disconnected, but this arrangement was necessitated by the peculiarity of the subject of my inquiry

In pursuing the ramifications of the Bharatan, or Gauda Dravidian population throughout the peninsula I hope I have been able to point out the connexion existing between several tribes apparently widely different from each other. I have tried thus to identify the so called Pannas of Southern India with the old Dravidian mountaineers and to establish their relationship to the Bhars, Brahuis, Mhars, Mabars, Pabāmas, Paravari, Paradas and other tribes, all these tribes forming, as it were, the first layer of the ancient Dravidian deposit. In a similar manner I have identified the Caidals with the first section of the Gaudian race which was reduced to abject slavery by the Aryan invaders, and shown their connexion with the ancient Kandalas and the present Gonds. In addition to this I trust I have proved that such apparently different tribes as the Mallas, Pallas, Pallavas, Ballas, Bhillas and others are one and all offshoots of the Dravidian branch, and that the Kohis, Kōis, Khonds, Kodigas, Koravas, Knrumbas and others belong to the Gaudian division both branches forming in reality only portions of one and the same people, whom I prefer to call, as I have said, Bharatis.

Where there is so much room for conjecture it is easy enough, of course to fall into error, and I shall be prepared to be told that many of my conclusions are erroneous and the hypotheses on which they are built fanciful. But though much of what I have written may be shown to be untenable, I shall yet be satisfied if in the main I establish my contention, and I shall deem myself amply repaid for my labor if I succeed in restoring the Gaudian and Dravidian to those rights and honors of which they have so long been deprived.

In the third part which treats on Indian Theogony I have endeavoured to give a short sketch of some of the most prominent features of the Aryan and non Aryan beliefs. After noticing briefly the reverence which the Vedic hymns display towards the Forces of Nature, which develops gradually into the acceptance of a Supreme Being (*Brahman*), I go on to show how the idea of an impersonal God, a perception too high and abstract to be grasped by the masses of the population, gradually gave place to the recognition of a personal Creator with whom were associated eventually the two figure heads of Preservation and Destruction, all these three together forming the Trimūrti as represented by Brahman, Viṣṇu and Śiva.

About the time that the ancient Vedic views began to undergo a change and the idea of the existence of a Supreme Spirit impressed itself on the minds of the thoughtful, the non Aryan Principle of the Female Energy was introduced into the Aryan system. This dogma which originated with the Turanian races of Asia, and was thus also acknowledged in ancient Babylonia, soon exercised a powerful influence, and pervaded the whole religion of the Aryans in India. Its symbol was in India the Śilagrīma stone, which Viṣṇu afterwards appropriated as his emblem.

I have further tried to show how the contact with the non Aryan population affected the belief of the Aryans and modified some of the features of their deities. Brahman was thus by assimilating himself with the non Aryan chief-god and demon king Aiyānār, transformed into a Brahman bhūta, while the very same Aiyānār was changed into Śiva in his position as demon king or Bhūtanātha, and Viṣṇu became gradually identified by a great section of the Brahmanic community with the Female Principle and taken for Urmī.

The religious opinions of the original inhabitants were

on the other hand not left unchanged as the result of their intercourse with the Aryans, and many ideas and many of the deities of the invader were received into their religion. The prominent features of this religion lay in the adoration of the Principle of the Female Energy, or Śakti, as represented by the chief local goddess or Grāmadēvatā, in the acknowledgment of a Supreme God revered under such names as Aiyānār (Śasta), and in the worship of Demons.

I trust now that the racial unity of the great majority of the Indian population has been established by this research based mainly on linguistic and theological evidence, as it has also been proved independently by ethnological enquiries.

In order to perpetuate by an outward sign the racial union of the overwhelming majority of the population of India, I venture to suggest that the inhabitants of this country would do well, if they were to assume the ancient, honorable and national name of Bharatas, remembering that India has become famous as Bharatavarsha, the land of the Bharatas.

In such a multitude of subjects, it was only possible for me to formulate my ideas in a somewhat imperfect manner, without being able to treat separately every particular subject as thoroughly and completely as it deserved, and as I had wished to treat it. I make this observation to show that I am fully cognizant of the incompleteness of this enquiry, but, I trust, I have at least succeeded in making clear its purport and significance. If time and circumstances had permitted, I should have added some chapters on some essential topics, and enlarged the scope of others, but my impending departure from India has compelled me to be brief. If this book should be deemed worthy of another edition, I hope to be able to remedy these defects. It is here perhaps not out of place to mention, that the first portions of this book appeared some years ago, the

first Part being printed as early as 1838, and it is possible that the publication of this work in fragments has been attended with some disadvantages

I am thus well aware of the many defects in a publication like this, but I trust that even my errors may not be without use, if like stranded vessels, they serve to direct the explorer warning him away from the shoals and rocks that beset the enquirer in his search after truth

GUSTAV OPPERT

MADRAS, 14th February, 1893

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SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION

k	kh	ḥ	ḷ	ṁ	l	h	n	ṇ	
c	ch	j	ḥ	ñ	f	y	i	ē	ai
t	th	d	dh	m	r	ṛ	ṣ	ṣ	
ṭ	ṭh	ḍ	ḍh	ṇ	ṣ	ṣ	ṣ	ṣ	
p	ph	ṭ	ṭh	n	ṣ	ṣ	ṣ	ṣ	

ANUSVARA m ṣ ṣ ṣ are peculiar to the Dravidian languages

*Use of the Dravidian languages

On the Original Inhabitants of Bharatavarsa or India.

INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL REMARKS.

No one who undertakes to study the ancient history of India can fail to be impressed by the scantiness of the material at his disposal. In fact such an undertaking would soon appear to be futile, were he to depend solely on Indian accounts and records. Fortunately, however, we possess some writings of foreigners who visited India; and their reports of what they actually saw during their stay in this country, and of what they were able to gather from trustworthy sources, furnish us with materials of a sufficiently reliable character. If we except Kashmir and Ceylon, regarding the latter as belonging to India, no part of India possesses anything like a continuous historical record. The preponderance of caste and the social prejudices it creates are disabilities such as no Hindu who wishes to relate the history of his country can entirely overcome. The natives of India have, as a rule, little sympathy with people outside their own class, and when it is believed that persons belonging to the highest caste can by their piety ensure final beatitude, if they simply remember and revere the memory of their three immediate predecessors—father, grandfather, and great grandfather—we need not wonder at the apathy displayed towards history by them and by others who are beneath them in the social scale.

Yet, if the study of Indian history has up to now not proved interesting to the Hindus themselves—and there exist many good reasons why this has been and is still the case—this fact need not discourage foreigners, who are interested in this subject, from pursuing it.

It is true no doubt that the results which have been obtained from decipherings and archaeological researches in India, must appear insignificant when compared with what has been achieved elsewhere in the same fields. Still, there is no need to despair of final success, for our knowledge and material are daily increasing, though Indian history at present, becomes interesting only when it throws light on the communal, legal and social conditions of the people, or on their intercourse and relation with foreigners.

Owing to the meagreness and often to the untrustworthiness of the historical material, an Indian historian must be continually on the look-out for new tracks in which to pursue his researches. The task of a scientific historian is difficult in itself, but it is made still more so, if a scholar is anxious to make original researches and strike out for himself a new path in Indian history, as, in addition to other qualifications, he must be a linguist possessing some knowledge of the language of the people into whose past he is inquiring.

The limited number of Indian historical records, including architectural, palæographical, numismatic and similar antiquities, compels a student of Indian history to draw within his range subjects other than those usually regarded as strictly historical, *e.g.*, the names of nations and individuals, of countries and towns, of mountains and rivers, and such other topics, in which he believes that historical relics lie concealed.

I have selected as the subject of this inquiry the people to whom I assign in default of a better name that of Gauda-Dravidian, who by the extensive area they occupied, and over

which their descendants are still scattered, are well worthy of a careful research being made into their past history.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.

Before entering upon the historical part of this inquiry, a few general philological remarks will not be out of place. Every one who is even slightly acquainted with the laws which govern the interchange of letters, knows that the labial nasal *m* is often permuted into the other labials as *p*, *b*, or *v* and vice versa. *Mumba* is thus changed to *Bombay*, and *Mallata* into *Ballava*; *Marulaccha* is identical with *Bharulaccha*; Sanskrit *piamāna* is altered to Kanarese *paranu* or *haranu*, measure; *maṣṭai*, stem, in Tamil resembles *paṣṭai*, bark; *madandai* in Tamil, woman, corresponds to *padatā* in Telugu, and *Mallar* to *Pallar*, &c. On the other hand, *Bharāni* becomes *Bhamāni*; *Vānam*, heaven, is changed in Tamil to *Mānam*; *Palamanēri* to *Palamanēri*; *Pallara* to *Vallama* (*Velama*) and *Vallambā*; *paṣṭādu*, goat, in Tamil, to *vellādu*; *Vadāran* to *Vadaman*; the words *Çiṛutan* and *Çiṛuman*, youth, both occur; *phāṅku*, to shine, in Tamil corresponds to the Telugu *merungu*, &c.

The above-mentioned rule is general and applies to other languages as well, for in Greek, *omma*, e.g., becomes *oppa*; *meta*, *peda*; *membras*, *bemhras*; *pallein*, *halleia*, and *patein*, *hatein*, &c.; but nowhere else does there exist such a variety and difference of pronunciation as in the vernacular languages of India. Their system of writing is a proof of this fact. Tamil has, e.g., only one sign for the four sounds¹ belonging to each of the five classes; in fact 20 different sounds are expressed by five letters, and even where, as in Telugu, these 20 sounds are provided with 20

¹ *ṣ* for *k*, *kh*, *g*, *gh*; *ṣ* for *c*, *ch*, *j*, *jh*; *ṣ* for *t*, *th*, *d*, *dh*; *ṣ* for *p*, *ph*, *b*, *bh*. In their transliteration accordingly are only used *k*, *c*, *t*, *p* and *g*, which indicate the letter, but not the *s* and.

distinct characters, the pronunciation still remains so uncertain, that in his Telugu Dictionary the late Mr. C. P. Brown arranged these four letters respectively under one head. The cause of this striking peculiarity and these continual permutations is to be found partly no doubt in indefinite pronunciation and dialectical divergencies, but mainly in the strict enforcement of the over-stringent and artificial rules of Sandhi or Euphony, which affect alike vowels and consonants, and which do not, *e.g.*, permit a word in the middle of a sentence to begin with a vowel. Local differences in pronunciation exist in India as well as in other countries. Amongst these the interchanges between *tenues* and *mediae* are most common; we find them in Wales and in German Saxony, where the *tenues* *p*, *t*, and *k* are to this day confounded with the *mediae* *b*, *d*, and *g*, or *vice versâ*.

The three Dravidian *l*'s (*l* ஸ், *l* ள் and *l* ழ்), however differently they may be pronounced, are only varieties of the same sound and are therefore interchangeable, thus, *e.g.*, the Sanskrit *phalam* becomes in Tamil *palam* பலம், or *palam* பழம், while *mallam* மல்லை becomes *mallam* மளையம், *vellālan* வெள்ளாளன் is also spelt *vellālan* வெள்ளாழன், and a village or town is called *palli* பல்லி (*talli* தல்லி), *palli* பள்ளி, or *pāl* பாழி. The harsher sound is generally used by the lower classes, and where these pronounce an *l* or *l*, a high caste-man will hiss a *l*, which letter is probably a modern innovation prevailing specially in Malayalam and Tamil.

As the different *l*'s interchange between each other, do the two Dravidian *r* and *ṛ*; ² a double *ṛ* pronounced in Tamil somewhat like ³ wh.

² Tamil *r̄* and *ṝ*, Telugu *ṛ* and *es*
and *o*.

³ The Tamil *ṝ* is pronounced like *wh* to the T.

stance is a proof of the relationship between the *r* and *ṛ* sounds. After this statement the permutation between the lingual *d* and the *r* and *l* sounds will not create any surprise. Some of these changes are pretty common elsewhere; they occur in the Aryan as well as in the Dravidian languages.

A further peculiarity of the Dravidian languages, and especially of Tamil, is their dislike to beginning words with compound letters: *Brahma* becomes *Piramam*, பிரமம்; *prabandha*, *pirapantam*, பிரபந்தம்; *grantha*, *kirantam*, கிரந்தம். In consequence of indistinct pronunciation and the desire for abbreviation, initial and medial consonants are often dropped at the beginning or in the middle of words, while on the other hand in opposition to this tendency a half-consonant is prefixed to an initial vowel, in order to prevent a word from beginning with a vowel. We thus occasionally meet words whose initial consonants are dropped and replaced by half-consonants, e.g., *tella*, white, in Telugu becomes *ella* and *yella*, *resa*, haste, *esa* and *yesa*, the name of the *Billarar* of Travancore becomes *Ilavar* and *Yilavar*; *Vēlūr* becomes *Ēlūr* and *Yēlūr*. This practice of prefixing a half-consonant before an initial vowel is generally enforced in the middle of a sentence, — a *y* is thus placed before an *a*, *e*, *i*, and *ai* and a *v* before *o*, *u*, and *au*. The half-consonant is used to avoid an hiatus and this explains why the University-degrees *M.A.* and *B.A.* are pronounced by many Natives *Fam Ya* and *Be Ya*. Metathesis is likewise of not unfrequent occurrence in the Dravidian languages. It is even found in words of common occurrence, in *kurudai*, e.g., for *kudirai*, horse; in *Marudai* for the town *Madura*; in *Verul* for *Elōra* (*Vēlūr* or *Ballōra*); in *Vaiśākham* (வைசாஹம்) and *Vaiśāṣi* (வைசாசி) for *Vaiśākhham* and *Vaiśākh*; in the Telugu *agapa* and *abaka*, ladle, &c.

Another peculiarity is to drop one of two consonants in a syllable and to lengthen the vowel if it happens to be short, or to double a consonant and to shorten the vowel,

if it happens to be long ; e.g., చెయ్యట *ceyyuṭa* for చేయట *cēyuta*, *Vellalan* for *Vēlalan*, *Palla* for *Pala*, &c.

It will be readily perceived that this laxity of pronunciation affords a wide field for philological conjectures, and that, if we choose as an example the representative name of the *Malla* or *Palla* tribe, a variety of forms for *Mara* and *Malla*, or *Para* and *Palla*, which actually occur, can be retraced to the common source, and thus be shown to have a sound basis. The task which a philologist has to perform is a serious one and ought to make him cautious. Considerable and unexpected difficulties also arise from the great similarity of many Sanskrit and Dravidian words with *Mara*, *Malla* and their derivatives⁴. The explanations of names of persons, tribes, places, &c., so readily tendered by the Natives

⁴ A few of such similar words are in Sanskrit *para*, other, *pala*, m, straw, n, flesh, *pala*, m, barn, *pallava*, m, n, sprout, *pahala*, m, pond, *pāla*, m, guard, *pala* great, *phala*, n, fruit, *phala*, m, n, ploughshare, *phulla*, open, *bala*, n, power, *bili*, m, oblation, *bala*, young, *bhala*, n, forehead, *mala*, killing, *mala*, n, dirt, *malla*, f, jasmine, *mara*, killing, *mala*, n, field, *mala*, f, garland, *valla*, covering, *ellabha*, m, lover, *talli* (l), f, creeper, &c, in Tamil *alam*, plough, *alli*, lily, *alīyam*, village of herdsmen, *ala*, cave, *alam*, water, *palar* (*pallar*), many persons, *palam*, strength, fruit, flesh, *pali*, sacrifice, *pai*, tooth, *pallam*, bear, arrow, *polli*, lizard, *palam*, old, *palam*, fruit, *pai*, blame, *palai*, bole, *paṭṭam*, lowness, *pallayam* (*pallaiyam*), offering to demons, *paṭṭaici*, dwarfish woman, *paṭ*, milk, *palam*, bridge, *palar*, herdsmen, *palai*, arid, *pali*, cave, village, *palayam* (*palaiyam*) country, camp, *paṭi*, encampment, *paṭai*, palmtree, *pilli*, demon, *pulam*, ricefield, *pulṭi*, flesh, *pulai*, flesh, *pul*, meanness, *pullu*, grass, *pullam*, ignorant, *puṭṭi*, lizard, *malam*, excretion, *malar*, flower, *malai*, hill, *mai*, boxing, *mallam*, strength, *malla*, jasmine, *malla*, wrestling, *mala*, rain, *mallam*, strength, *mai*, greatness, *mullai*, jasmine, *muli*, *mullu*, thorn, *mēl*, above, *alam*, rightside, *alam*, power, *ali*, strength, *cala*, strong, *calai*, net, *allar*, strong persons, *allapan*, beloved, *allavan*, shepherd, *cali*, woman, village, *caliyam*, village of shepherds, *caluti*, poetical epithet of the Pāṇḍya kings, *calappam*, *alamai*, *alam*, *alan*, strength, *calaṇan*, epithet of Cōla, *allam*, corn measure, *caliyam*, pipe, pepper, *cala*, plantain, *cal*, sword, *cal*, bow, *cali*, Manmatha, *cal*, white, *calṭam*, inundation, *calṭi*, silver, *cal*, lance, *cali*, village, *calṭam*, sugarcane reed, &c, in Telugu *ala*, wave, *ala* (*alla*), then, *alli*, water, lily, *alle*, bowstring, *ela*, young, *ella*, all, limit, white (*ella*), *palla* (*pulla*), red, reddish, *paṭṭamu*, camp, *paṭṭamu*, saucer, *pāla*, name of a tree, white, jay, *pāla*, share, milk, *pulla*, child, *pilli*, cat, *puli* (*pulla*), soar, *puli*, tiger, *pulu* (*pulla*), grass, *pulla*, piece, *balla*, bench, *bhala*, affection, *mala*, mountain, *malamu*, dirt, *malu*, again, *malla*

of India and seemingly supported by some legendary and historical evidence, must be viewed with extreme caution and distrust. It is not an uncommon occurrence to make a statement of this kind, and afterwards to invent corroborative evidence. This is often not done with any desire to mislead, but rather because it affords a fair display for speculative ingenuity. If, *e.g.*, a rich man of a high caste acquires a *Paraicēri*, he will alter its name so as to hide the low origin of his property and to impart to it a sacred appearance. Near Madras is situated the well-known hill called St. Thomas' Mount. Its name in Tamil is Parangi Malai or Mountain of the Franks or Europeans, from the original European or rather Portuguese settlement. Some years ago a Brahman settlement was established there and the name of Parangi Malai was no longer deemed respectable. Thenceforth it was changed to Bhrngi Malai, the mountain of the sacred Bhrngi, and eventually in support of this appellation legendary evidence was not slow in forthcoming.³

(*mālī*) again, *malle* (*mallelu*), jasmine, *māla* (*māle*, *mālika*), garland, *mālī*, gardener, *māle*, house, *mūlu* (*mullu*), thorn, *māle*, corner, *mella*, hall, *mēlamu*, fun, *mēlu*, good, upper, *māla*, uncle-in, *ēla*, right, net, *ēlla*, stratagem, *ēlla*, noose, *ēla*, custom, *vēlu*, long, sword, *ēlu* (*ēllū*), bow, *ēlu*, expedient, *ēla*, price, *ēlla*, white, *ēllūca*, flood, *ēla*, limit, *ēla*, time, *vēlu* 1000, toe, &c

Considering the changes the letters undergo in Dravidian words, when *pallādu*, goat, is also written *ēllādu* and *pala*, flesh, becomes *pūla* and *Valluru* is also written *Valūru*, *Vellūru*, *Fellūru*, &c, similar alterations need not create any great surprise, especially if it is admitted that small orthographical changes assist their being the more easily distinguished. As an illustration how the names of the Mallas and Pallas appear in local appellations I only add as an example a few such names as Mallapur, Pallapur, Ballapur, Vallapur, Yallapur, Allapur, Ellapur, Vellapur, Yellapur, Illapur, Villapur, Vollūru, Ullapur, Vullapur, Malavār, Palavār, Balapur, Valapur, Yalapetta, Elapur, Elavār, Velapur, Yelagiri, &c, &c

³ An example of the spurious character of similar writings is exhibited by the *Sthalapurāṇa* that contains the origin of the *Gunnybag-sealers*, which, though of recent origin, is by some incorporated in the *Brahmaṇḍa Purāṇa*.

A curious instance of the alteration of a name is supplied by the Barber's bridge near St Thomé in Madras. It was originally named *Hamilton's*

It might appear that when so many changes are possible, no reliance can be placed on such evidence, but these permutations do not all take place at the same time, indeed dialectical pronunciation selects some letters in preference to others. The northern Hindu pronounces, a *B*, where the southern prefers a *V*, and both letters occur only in border districts; thus no *B* is found in the names of such places situated in the Chingleput, South-Arcot, Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Madura, Tinnevely, and Malabar districts, while in South-Kanara, Ganjam and Mysore a *V* is seldom used.

These few preliminary philological remarks are absolutely necessary to facilitate the understanding of the subsequent discussion. The important position which language occupies in such a research as the present was well pointed out more than forty years ago, by the Pioneer of North-Indian Ethnology, the learned B. H. Hodgson, when he wrote in the preface to his first Essay: "And the more I see of these primitive races the stronger becomes my conviction that there is no medium of investigation yielding such copious and accurate data as their languages."

HISTORICAL REMARKS.

Turning from these linguistic to historical topics, we know as a fact that when tracing the records of any nation or country as far back as possible, we arrive at a period when all authentic or provable accounts cease. We have then reached the prehistoric stage. What occurred during that epoch can never be verified. When the mist of historic darkness disappears from the plains and mountains of a country, the existing inhabitants and their dwellings become

bridge after a gentleman of that name. The word *Hamilton*, being difficult to pronounce in Tamil, was changed into *amattan* (common form for *ampattan*) which means in Tamil a *barber*, whence by retranslation into English the bridge was called Barber's bridge.

visible, but whether these are in reality the first settlers and their abodes the first erected, is another question which does not properly belong to the domain of history, so long as we are unable to assert its relevancy or to find an answer to it. Whether the people of whom we first hear in a country are really its aborigines may be doubtful; but so long as no earlier inhabitants can be discovered, they must be regarded as such. So far as historical traces can be found in the labyrinth of Indian antiquity, it was the Gauda-Dravidians who lived and tilled the soil and worked the mines in India.

This discussion does not concern the so-called Kolarian tribes, whose connection with the ancient history of India is so very obscure, that we possess hardly any historical accounts about them.

However considerable and apparently irreconcilable may appear the differences exhibited by the various Gauda-Dravidian tribes in their physical structure and colour, in their language, religion, and art, all these differences can be satisfactorily accounted for by the physical peculiarities of the localities they inhabited, by the various occupations they followed, and by the political status which regulated their domestic and social habits. For every one must be aware of the fact that change of abode and change in position have worked, and are working, the most marvellous alterations in the physical and mental constitution of individuals and nations. Language, especially the spirit which pervades it, is the most enduring witness of the connection which exists between nations, and with its help we can often trace the continuity of descent from the same stock in tribes seemingly widely different.

From the north-west across to the north-east, and from both corners to the furthest south, the presence of the Gauda-Dravidian race in India can be proved at a very early period. On the arrival of the Aryans on the north-western frontier, the Gauda-Dravidians are already found in flourishing

communities. But successive waves of the Aryan invasion, swelled in their course by the accession of former opponents who had despaired of successful resistance, must soon have flooded over the Gauda-Dravidian settlements. Some by their prowess were able to maintain their ground against the invaders, while others, defeated, left their abodes and emigrated towards the South. Yet even the North, subject though it became in time to the Aryan or rather Brahmanical sway, can never be said to have been totally conquered by force of arms. Still less was this the case with the South, where the Brahmanical influence always assumed a more civil and priestly character; influence, which though of another kind, can hardly be deemed less powerful, since it is more lasting and more thorough. Even the Aryanised languages of North-India—however they may prove the mental superiority of the invaders who were able to force on their defeated foes their peculiar mode of thinking—manifest their origin in their vocabularies and show the inability of the victors to press on the vanquished their own language. The languages of both, victors and vanquished, amalgamated and formed new dialects, and the difference which exists between the abstract synthetic Sanskrit and the concrete agglutinated Dravidian is clearly expressed. This difference is easily observable when we compare on the one hand the construction of Sanskrit with that of such Aryanised languages, as Bengali and Marathi, which possess a considerable substratum of a non-Aryan element, and on the other hand the construction of Latin with that of the Neo-Latin languages French and Spanish, which may be considered as entirely Aryan. I have alluded to this fact in my "Classification of Languages." Hindustani is a fair specimen of such a miscegenation of languages.

The earliest mention of a Gauda-Dravidian word is to be found in the Bible. In the first book of Kings, x. 22, we read as follows: *For the king had at sea a navy of Tarshish*

with the navy of Hiram; once in three years came the navy of Tharshish, bringing gold, and silver, ivory, and opes, and peacocks." ⁶ The expression for peacocks is *tukkiyyim*, a word derived from the Gauda-Dravidian *toka* (*toka* or *togai*), which originally signifies the tail of a peacock and eventually a peacock itself. It exists in Telugu, Tamil, Malayalam, Kanarese, Gondi and elsewhere. The identification of *tukki* (*tūli*) with *toka* is very old indeed, and is already quoted as well known in the early editions of the Hebrew dictionary of Wilhelm Gesenius. ⁷ The mere fact that the sailors of Solomon and Hiram designated a special Indian article by a Gauda-Dravidian word, renders it probable that the inhabitants with whom they traded were Gauda-Dravidians and that Gauda-Dravidian was the language of the country. The Aryan influence could at that time hardly have been strong enough to supplant the current vernacular, or to force upon it a Prakritised Aryan term. Moreover, the peacock is a well-known bird, common all over India, and it is highly improbable that the Gauda-Dravidians should have waited for the arrival of the Aryans to name it, or should have dropped their own term in order to adopt in its stead an Aryan one. The vocal resemblance between the Hebrew *kōph* and the Sanskrit *kapi* is most likely accidental. The ancient Egyptians, who kept monkeys in their temples, called a monkey *kāf*. Besides it cannot at all be assumed that the sailors of the fleet of Tharshish did not know monkeys. May not *kōph*, *kāf*, *kapi*, &c., after all be an *Onomatopœtikon*? Another word which proves the connection of the Gauda-Dravidians with foreign nations is supplied by

⁶ The Hebrew words in 1 Kings, x 22, are. *Om Tharshis noseth odhab edkesepe penhabdim vegophim vetukkiyyim* 2 Chronicles, ix 21, has a long *u* and reads *vetukkiyyim* The derivation of *penhabdim* is still doubtful

⁷ See also my lecture *On the Ancient Commerce of India*, p 25 The derivation of *Almuggim* or *Algunnam* from *algu* as the sandalwood is called in different places, 1 Kings, x 11, 12, and 2 Chronicles, ii 7, ix 10, 11, is very doubtful, and I hesitate to derive it from Sanskrit

the Greek word *oryza* for rice, which corresponds to the Gauda-Dravidian *arisi*, and not to the Sanskrit *vrihi*.⁸

The Aryan invaders showed little sympathy with the inhabitants they found on the confines and in the interior of India. The outward appearance of the Dāsas or Dasyus—these were the names with which the new-comers honoured their opponents—was not such as to create a favourable impression, and they were in consequence taunted with their black colour and flat noses, which latter made their faces appear as if they had no noses. Indra is invoked to reduce into the darkness of subjection the colour of the Dāsas and to protect the colour of his worshippers, for the latter were not always successful in the combats, and the Dāsas at times turned the tables on their foes by becoming victorious aggressors.

So far as civilisation is concerned, a great difference could hardly have existed between the two races when they first met. However rude may have been the bulk of the indigenous population, a considerable portion of it must have already attained a certain degree of cultivation. It was no doubt the wealth which they had acquired that stimulated the invaders to pursue their conquests, even when a brave

⁸ See my lecture *On the Ancient Commerce of India*, p. 37. "Of grains *Rice* formed an important commodity. The cultivation of rice extended in ancient times only as far west as to Bactria, Susiana, and the Euphrates valley. The Greeks most likely obtained their rice from India, as this country alone produced it in sufficient quantity to be able to export it. Moreover the Grecian name for rice *oryza*, for which there exists no Aryan or Sanskrit root, has been previously identified by scholars with the Tamil word *arisi*, which denotes rice deprived of the husk. This was exactly the state in which rice was exported. The Greeks besides connected rice generally with India. Athenæus quotes *oryza hepithē*, cooked rice, as the food of the Indians, and Aelianus mentions a wine made of rice as an Indian beverage. If now the Greek received their rice from India, and the name they called this grain by is a Dravidian word, we obtain an additional proof of the non-Aryan element represented in the Indian trade." *Arpi*, rice, occurs also in Keikadi, and *ariselu*, ricecakes, in Telugu.

and stnbborn resistance warned the Aryans not to drive to despair the various chieftains who had retreated to their mountain strongholds. The bravery of the Dāsas excited the admiration of their opponents. Indra himself occasionally protecte the Dasas, the Aryan priest deigns to accept his offering, and the divine Aśvins partake even of his food. Though both the terms *Dasyu* and *Dāsa* originally denote a destroyer, at times a malevolent superhuman being, and at times in contrast to *Ārya*, an enemy of the gods or a wicked man, and are in this sense specially applied to the aboriginal races who stood outside the Brahmanical pale, yet the expreseion *Dāsa* continued to be contemptuously used by one Aryan against another, till it became in time equivalent to a common menial or slave.

Division between Gaudians and Dravidians.

The foemen whom the Aryans first encountered were generally brave mountaineers who offered a stout resistance in their numerous castles. Indeed, most trihal names of the inhabitants of India will be shown to refer to mountains.

The two special Gauda-Dravidian terms for mountain are *mala* (*malai*, *pār*, *pārāt*, &c) and *ko* (*konda*, *kuru*, *kunru*, *kora*, &c). Both kinds of expressions are widely used and prevail throughout India. Hence are derived the names of the *Mallas*, *Mulas*, *Malavas*, *Malayas*,^{*} &c, and of the *Kōyis*, *Kōdulu*, *Kondas*, *Gondas*, *Gaudas*, *Kuruias*, &c. I shall in future call those tribes whose names are derived from *mala* Dravidians, and those whose names are derived from *ko* Gaudians.

* Concerning the single and double *l* which is found respectively in *Malaya*, *Malla* and in their derivatives, it should be considered that the Dravidian languages do not possess fixed orthographical rules regarding proper names and that single and double letters are often used indifferently. A mountaineer is thus generally described in South-India as *Malayan* or *Malaiyan*, while *Mallan* also denotes an inhabitant of a mountainous district.

PART I.

THE DRAVIDIANS.

CHAPTER II.

THE NAMES OF ANCIENT KINGS AND ASURAS INDICATE THE
NAMES OF THE PEOPLE OVER WHOM THEY RULED.

Among the tribes and people whom I regard as Dravidians, whose names are derived either directly from *Mala* or from cognate terms, and who are of the same race as the *Mallas* or *Pallas*, which term is chosen on p. 6 as their representative designation, I may mention the *Māras* (*Mhars*, *Mahars*, *Mahāras* or *Mālas*), *Māris*, *Maṣavar*, *Pariahs*, *Parjas*, *Paravar*, *Paravāri*, *Περούαροι*, *Pāratas*, *Παρεῦται*, *Pāradas*, *Parhoyas*, *Bārs* (*Bhars*, *Bārrai*), *Brahuis*; the *Mallas* (*Μαλλοί*, *Malli*), *Mālas* (*Māls* or *Māras*), *Mala Arayar*, *Malacar*, *Malajalis*, *Mālavas*, (*Mālvās*), *Mālair* (*Maler* or *Paharius*), *Mallar* or *Pallar*, the *Palliyar*, *Polaiyar*, *Pulayar*, *Holiyar*, *Pulindas* (*Πουλινδαί*), *Pundras*, *Pallis*, *Palas*, *Palis*, *Pallavas* (*Palhavas*, *Pahlavas*, *Pahnavas*, *Plavas*), *Pandyas*, *Ballas*, *Bhallas*, *Bhils* (*Bhillas*, *Φυλλίται*), *Bhillalas*, *Ballālas*, *Vellalar*, *Velamas* (*Vallamas*, *Vallambams*), *Valluvar*, &c.¹⁰

The Rgyēda only rarely confers special names on the Indians who opposed the Aryans, and these names wherever they occur cannot be easily recognised and explained.

On the other hand the Indian gods adopted, particularly in later times, the names of the demons they had defeated in

¹⁰ The *Mavella* or *Māvēllaka* whom Lassen in his *Indische Alterthums-kunde* (vol I, p 751, or 695) identifies with the *Megallon* of Megasthenes as occupying *Mārwar*, might perhaps be added to this list

combat in order to perpetuate the memory of their victories. A natural assumption leads one to infer that the names of the conquered demons or Asuras represent those of the forces they led to battle, and that the Asuras Malla, Bala, Bali, Bala, Bāh or Vāh, Vala¹¹ and others were chiefs of the aboriginal race.

Kṛṣṇa is thus called Mallāri,¹² the enemy or destroyer of the Asura *Malla*, Indra is renowned as Valadvīṣ or Valanāśana, enemy or destroyer of the demon *Vala*,¹³ the brother of Vṛtra, and as Balanāśana and Balarāti, enemy or destroyer of *Bala*.¹⁴ Viṣṇu goes by the name of Bahudhvansin,¹⁵ for he defeated the great giant king *Bali* in the shape of a dwarf in the Vāmana Avatāra. Rāma covers his name with doubtful glory by killing in unfair fight the mighty so-called monkey-king *Bali* or *Vāh*, the brother of Sugriva; hence Rāma's name Bahubhanṭr.

¹¹ Though *Vala* need not be taken in the Rgveda as a demon, he is regarded as such in later works. He may perhaps have been confounded later on with *Bala*.

¹² *Mallāri* or *Mahārī* is in the Marāṭha country regarded as an incarnation of Śiva, and is also called *Khapdōbā*.

¹³ Or *Valabhit*, *Valavṛtraghna*, *Valavṛtrahan*, *Valanodana*, *Valahanṭr*, and *Valārāti*.

¹⁴ Or *Balanāśana*, *Balabhit* and *Balanodana*.

¹⁵ Or *Balindama*, *Balibandhana* and *Bahhan*. *Bali* or *Mahabali* was the son of *Vīrācana* and father of *Edpa*. He ruled over the three worlds, established, according to the Matsya Purāṇa, at the desire of Brahma, the four castes, and was eventually reduced by Viṣṇu to become the king of Pātālā. He is still the most popular legendary king among the whole Hindu population, especially in South India. We find a *Mahābalipura* on the *Som* river in the North, and near Madras in the South. The people remember to this day the prosperity enjoyed under his sway. Once a year *Bali* is said to visit the earth, but this visit is not celebrated simultaneously throughout India. His greatest feast falls on the fullmoon in the month of Kārtikī, when the corn standing in the fields, the cow-houses, wells, and particularly the dwelling houses, are illuminated with lamps. In Mysore popular songs are sung in his praise on the last day of the Navarātri. The Hindu people worship him also during the Pongal, when gourds (in Sanskrit *laṃḍaṇḍa*) are given to Brahmans. *Bali* is worshipped in Malabar on the Ōṇam festival. He does not die and is one of the seven Cṛapātins.

BEGINNING OF PEACEFUL INTERCOURSE AND INTERMARRIAGE BETWEEN ARYANS AND DRAVIDIANS.

With the decrease of the Aryan immigration into India, their actual conquests ceased and the new comers, once established in the country, devised more peaceful means to perpetuate and extend their power. Colonists and missionaries visited the hitherto unapproached provinces and tried to win by their superior knowledge and civilisation the good will of the natives. Intermarriage recommended itself as the most efficient means to gain this object, though the race-pride of the conquering nation shrank from such misalliances.

In order to sanction them the example of the gods was needed, and Subrahmanya, the South-Indian representative of Karttikēya, the son of Śiva, who delights to reside in wild forests and weird mountain tops is credited with having chosen a South-Indian girl called *Valli*¹⁰ as his wife. *Valli* is a well-known female name common among the Pariahs and Pallar, the Pallis and other Śūdras, and corresponds to the equally-widely used man's name *Malla*. *Valli* is also celebrated as the Amman of Vaiṣṇava gods.¹¹ The

¹⁰ He is the presiding deity of many mountains, as *Tirupparankunran*, *Camunalai* (or *Palani*), *Calaimalai*, &c., and is thus, among other titles, called the ruler of the *Palani* mountain, *Palani Aṇḍi* or *Aṇḍavar*.

Two wives are generally assigned to Subrahmanya. They are called *Dēvasenā* (contracted in colloquial Tamil into *Tēvaṇai*) and *Valli* (*Valli-Dēvasenāmetā Subrahmanyasevāminē namaḥ*). Subrahmanya is therefore also called in Tamil *Vallimāṇṭalan*, or husband of *Valli*.

¹¹ The popular derivation of Triplicane (*Tiruvallikkēni*) is from *Alli*, *அல்லி*, a kind of water lily, which explanation I believe to be wrong. According to the *Sthalapurāṇa* of Triplicane *Narada* goes to *Kailāsa* to ascertain from *Parameśvara* the position of *Brhadānya* which lies north east of *Tirunirmalai* near *Pallāvaram*. The sage *Bhṛgu* lived there near a pond full of lotus, called *Kairaviṇi*. He worshipped the 6 gods of the place, especially *Rāṅganātha*, who slept under a sandal tree. Near it *Bhṛgu* found a little girl whom he gave to his wife to nurse. He called her *Vēḍavalli*, and married her in due time as *Vēḍavalli Tāyar* to *Rāṅganāthasvāmī*, &c. The ancient temple tank in Triplicane is called *Vēḍavallipuskarinī*.

principal goddess in Triplicane, who, as Amman presides over the Kṣētram and to whom the temple-compound belongs, is Vēdavalli. The god Parthasarathi is only lodging there as her guest.¹⁸ In Tiruvallūr the Amman is called Kauakavalli, in Chidambaram Paukajavalli, in Śrīmuṣṇam Ambujavalli, in Kumbhakōnam there are two, a Kōmalavalli and a Vijayavalli, in Mannārgudi a Campakavalli, and in Tirumālirūñcōlai as well as in Nāgapatam there is a Sundaravalli, &c. The derivation of Valli in these names from the Sanskrit *Valli*, creeper, appears doubtful, especially if one considers that Subrahmanya's wife, Valli, was a low-caste South-Indian woman, that the Śaiva preceded the Vaiṣṇava creed, and that Śaiva temples were occasionally turned into Vaiṣṇava temples. Pārvatī, the wife of Śiva and daughter of the mountain Himalaya, is even worshipped as a Pariah woman in her disguise as Matangi. This word is derived from Matanga, which signifies a wild mountaineer.¹⁹

¹⁸ The difference between *Amman* and *Ammal* (both meaning mother) is that the former expression refers only to goddesses, while the latter is applied both to goddesses and mortal women.

¹⁹ The *Syamasiddhāntika* ascribed to Kāhlaṣa contains the following śloka concerning Matangi —

Maṇḍyavastam upalāyanti
maḥiṣam maṇḍulavagastam
Mahēndranilōpalakimāṇḍam
Matāṅgakapvam manasa smarāmi

It is perhaps not impossible that there exists a connection between *Matāṅga* and *Matāṅga*. The *d* and the *t* are occasionally interchanged; compare the Greek *δάκρυ* with the Latin *lacryma*. The Malayalis consistently pronounce an *t* instead of a *d*, e.g., for *tasmat* *ḍarant* they say *tasmt* *ḍarant*. In Marāṭhi the word *Matāṅga* has been contracted into *Maṅga*, see p. 66. Compare also the Dravidian roots *pala* and *panda*, old Telugu has been *paṇḍa* also *pāṭa*.

The *Amarakośa*, II, Śaṭṭavarga (X) 20, 21, contains the following śloka concerning the *Matāṅga* and other out-castes

Contā's-Flora-Matāṅga-Buddharta-Janahgamā
Nipāda-Svapade-śūdras-śūdras-Pallāṇḍ
Bhūṭikā-Kūṭā-Sakara-Palaṇḍa-Matāṅga-śūdras

CHAPTER III.

THE MALLAS.

The name of the Mallas appears in various forms in Sanskrit literature. As the name of a people, we meet it in Malaka, Malada, Malaja, Malla, Mallaka, Mallava, Māla, Mālava, Mālavartī, &c.; as the name of a demon in Malayaja (Rahu), Malla (perhaps also if not connected with *mālā*, garland, in Mālyavān and Malinī), &c.; as the name of a human being in Malayakētu, Malayadhvaja, Malayanarapati, Malayaprabha, Malayasimba, Malayagandhinī, Malayavāsini, Mālavi, &c.; as the name of a country in Malaya, Malayadēśa, Malayabhūmi, Mallabbhūmi, Mallarāstra, Māla, Malava, Malavadēśa, Malavaka, &c.; as the name of a mountain or mountain-range in Malakūta, Malaya, Malayapārvata, Malayabhūbhrt, Malayācala, Malayādri, Mālyavān, &c.; as the name of a river in Malavi, &c.; as the name of a town in Malayapura, Mallapura, Mallavastu, Mallaprastha, &c.; as the name of a plant in Malayaja, Malayadruma, Malayōdbhava (sandal); Mallaja (Vellaja, black pepper), &c., &c.

If we include in this list some variations of the sound *Malla*, we may mention the three mind-born sons of Brahma, the famous Prajāpatis *Marici*, *Pulaka*, and *Pulastya*, who had among their progeny the most reputed Daityas or Rākṣasas, as well as the demon *Pulōman*, whom Indra killed, in order to obviate the curse pronounced against him for his having violated Pulōman's daughter *Saci*. The name *Marici* occurs also among the Daityas, *Maraka* among the nations, and *mallaja*, black pepper, is likewise called *marica* or *marīca*.

Maru means in Sanskrit a desert and a mountain, and the expression *Marubhū* is specially applied to Marwār, but its inhabitants as well as the Mhārs are the representatives

of an old Dravidian stock, like their namesakes the Maravar, *மரவர்*, in South-India. It is in itself very improbable, that these tribes should have obtained their name from a foreign source, and it would not be very venturesome to conjecture without any further authentic proof, that there existed in the ancient Dravidian dialect a word *mar* or *maia* for mountain, corresponding to the synonymous Tamil words *pār* and *pārai*. And in fact *mar* in the language of the original inhabitants of Marwar means *hill*, and the Mars or Mhars are in reality *hill men* ²⁰

The Mallas, as a nation, are repeatedly mentioned in the Mahābhārata, Harivamśa, in various Purānas, the Brhatsamhitā, the Lalitavistara and elsewhere. Mallabhūmi and Mallarāstra, which as well as Malayabhūmi refer to the northern parts of India, occur in the Rāmāyana and Mahābhārata. The Siddhantakaumudī mentions in a passage that refers to Pānini, V. 3, 114, the *Mallāh* instead of *Bhallāh*, which latter expression is found in the commentary to Dr. O. v. Bohtlingk's edition of Pānini. This quotation is significant as the Brhatsamhitā mentions likewise the Bhallas, who represent the modern Bhillas or Bhils. Bhalla and Bhilla are identical with Malla and are only different pronunciations or formations of the same word.

The Mallas are specially brought to our notice by the circumstance that Buddha, the great reformer of India, preferred to die among the Mallas in Kuśinagara. The citizens, when they heard of the arrival of the dying saint, met him sorrowfully, and among the last acts of Buddha was that he appointed the Malla Subhadra as an Arhat. This connection of Buddha with the Mallas appears strange and

²⁰ See Lieut.-Col. James Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthān*; London, 1829, vol. I, p. 630. The *Mār* or *Mēra* is the mountaineer of Rajpootana, and the country he inhabits is styled *Mairucarra*, or "the region of hills."

strengthen the doubt whether Buddha was an Aryan at all. His name of Śakyamuni and his relationship with the Śākya race has been taken as a reason to associate his name with the Scythian tribes, who had for some time previously been invading north western India. However this may be, Buddha's friendship with the Mallas supports his non Aryan origin. The enmity which existed between the kings of Kōśala and the Śākya princes is of itself significant, leaving altogether out of consideration the question whether Buddha was a prince or not. Moreover the inimical position which Buddhism soon assumed towards Brahmanism, the great hold the former took on the non Brahmanical population, which rushed to be received into its fold, makes the conjecture of Buddha's non Aryan origin rather probable.

Another branch of the Mallas came into collision with Alexander the Great, while he was progressing towards the South along the valley of the Indus. In the fight which ensued during his attack on their city he was, as is well known, severely wounded. This happened not far from the present Multan, which word I assume to denote Mallasthana, the place of the Mallas, not Mulasthāna, as has been assumed hitherto. In fact Sir Alexander Burnes states in his *Travels into Bokhara* (vol III, p 114) that "Mooltan is styled 'Mall than,' or 'Mah tharun' the place of the Mall, to this day."

Malayakētn, the son of the mountain king Pārvataka, who figures in the drama *Mudrārākṣasa*, represents the northern branch of the Mallas, settled in Malayabhūmi, near the Himalaya while the Pandya kings Malayadhvaja, Malayānarapati, Malayaprabha, Malayasūta and others are representatives of the south.

Even to this day the name of the Mallas is preserved among the population all over India, for the Mālas (Māls),

Mala Arayai or Malai Araśar, Malacar,²¹ Malayalis, Malavas (Malvas), Malair (Maler or Paharias), Mallar, Mars (Māras, Mhars, Mahars, Maharas), Maris, Maravar, &c, as they are named in different places, are found scattered all over the country

The word Malla also shows in its various meanings all the vicissitudes to which individuals and nations are alike exposed. When the bearers of the name were prosperous in the enjoyment of wealth and power, kings were proud to combine the term *Malla* with their own appellation in order to add further splendour to themselves, so that the word *Mallaka* assumed also the meaning of royal, as in the *Mrecha-katika*,²² yet when the wheel of fortune turned and the star of the Mallas had sunk beneath the horizon, the former term of honour became degraded into a byname of opprobrium and was applied to the lowest population, so that Malavadu is in modern Telugu the equivalent of Pariah.

Still the recollection of former splendour is not forgotten and is cherished among the Pariahs or Malas. The Pariahs or Mahars of the Maratha country claim thus to have once been the rulers of Maharāstra. And this is not improbable, for not only are the Mahars found all over the country, but philological evidence is also in their favour. An old tradition divides the Dravida and Gauda Brahmans into

²¹ See Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde* vol I pp 433 434 (364), note 1 "Die Malabar (*Mallars Journal of the R A S* II 336) im Waldgebirge Malabars haben keine Brahmanen oder Guru verehren als ihren Gott Mallung einen Stein. Auch die Pariar Malabars haben in ihren Tempeln nur Steine." Each village (of the Mala Arayar) has its priest, who when required calls on the Hill (*Mala*) which means the demon resident there. See *Native Life in Travancore*, by the Rev S Mateer, p 77. See note 28.

²² Compare such names as Yuddhamalla Jagadekamalla Trailokamalla Ahavamalla Tribhuvanamalla &c. See about the *Malla Era*, *Archæological Society of India* vol VIII, p 203 ff and about *Mallaka*, Wilson's *Treasures of the Hindus*, vol I, p 134.

five classes. The Ślōkas which contain this statement are as follows :—

Mahārāṣṭrāndhradrāvidāḥ karnātāścaiva gurjarāḥ
 Drāvidāḥ pañcadhā prōktā Vindhyadaksinavāsinah.
 Śarasvatāḥ kānyakubjā gaudōtkalāśca maithilāḥ
 Gauḍāḥ pañcavidhā prōktā Vindhyāduttaravāsinah.

Except the term *Mahārāṣṭra*, all the other names refer to Indian tribes. It may be presumed therefore that this is true likewise in the case of *Mahārāṣṭra*, and that this name should not be explained by "Great Kingdom." *Mahārāṣṭra* was also called *Mallarāṣṭra*, the country of the Mallas. The Mallas are the same as the Māras, who are better known as Mārs or Mhārs. Mhār was eventually transformed into Mahār; in fact both forms exist in modern Marāṭhi. Two terms identical in meaning *Mallarāṣṭra* and *Mahārāṣṭra* were thus used. The former dropped into oblivion, and with the waning fortunes of the Mahārs, their connection with the name was soon forgotten and *Mahārāṣṭra* was explained as meaning the "Great Kingdom" instead of the Kingdom of the Mahārs or Mallas. It is indeed curious that the word Pariah has still in Marāṭhi, the meaning of Mahāra, for the term *Paravārī* corresponds to Pariah, and is used in Marāṭhi in a general way as a courteous or conciliatory term for a Mahār.²³

²³ There exist other Ślōkas about this division. The *Slandi-Purāṇa* contains the abovementioned Ślōkas also in the following form :—

Karnātāścaiva Dravīḍā Gurjarā Kāśyapavāsinah
 Andhrāśca Dravīḍāḥ pañca Vindhyadaksinavāsinah.
 Śarasvatīḥ Kānyakubjā Gauḍa-Maithalikōtkalāḥ
 Pañca Gauḍāḥ khyatā Vindhyaōttaravāsinah.

According to Dr John Wilson: "Maharatta is the Fali form of *Mahārāṣṭra*, which with the variant reading *Mallarāṣṭra* appears in several of the Purāṇas. Now, *Mallarāṣṭra* may mean 'the country of the *Mahārs*,' a tribe still known in the province, though in a degraded position, and still so numerous throughout the Marāṭha country that there runs the proverb, *Janyā*

The proper names of *Mallayya* and *Malladu*, common among the Śūdra and Pariah population of Southern India, are occasionally like *Kuppayya* and *Vēmbayya*²⁴ given among Brahmans and other high-caste people to a boy, when the parents have previously lost two or more children. By this act of humility, displayed in giving a low name to their child, they hope to propitiate the deity and obtain for their offspring the health of a poor man's child. With that object they even throw the infant into a dunghill or *kuppa* (Tamil *kuppai*); a practice which has given rise to the name of *Kuppayya*.

Step by step the Dravidians receded from Northern India, though they never left it altogether. The Brahmanical supremacy deprived them of their independence, yet not all submitted to Aryan customs and manners. Scattered remains of the Mallas exist, as we have seen, to this day in North-India.

The immense chain of the Vindhya mountains acted as a protecting barrier, otherwise the Dravidians in the south,

gdna tenye Mahāra vddā 'Wherever there is a village there is the Mahār ward' The Mahārs are mentioned by the cognomen which they still bear that of Parwari (*Παρβαρι*) by Ptolemy, in the second century of the Christian era, and in his days they were evidently a people of distinct geographical recognition." See Dr. John Wilson's *Notes on the Constituent Elements of the Marathi Language*, p. xxiii in the second edition of the *Dictionary Marathi and English*, compiled by J. T. Molesworth, Bombay, 1857.—Consult too Dr. John Wilson's *Indian Caste*, vol. II, p. 48 "The Mahārs, who form one of its (Maharashtra's) old degraded tribes, and are everywhere found in the province say, that *Mahārāshtra* means the country of the Mahārs." Compare *Notes on Castes in the Dehkan*, by W. F. Sinclair, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. II (1874), p. 130. See also Col. Dulton's *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 264 "We have a tribe called Māl or Mār, scattered over Būrgūja, Palāmanu, Belounja, &c."

In the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* of H. H. Wilson, edited by Fitzedward Hall, vol. II, p. 165, *Mallarastra* is called *Fallarastra*, and it is conjectured that *Mallarastra* may be identical with the *Mahārāshtra* (the Mahratta country) of the Purāṇas.

²⁴ *Vēmbayya* is called after *Vēmbu*, the Margosa tree, the representative of bitterness. Death should regard in consequence the child as too bitter and too worthless to carry it off.

unlike their brothers in the north, would not have remained so unmolested. In fact the Vindhya mountains were by degrees recognized as constituting the natural frontier between the Aryanised nations of the north and the Dravidians of the south.

Aryan colonisation progressed slowly in the south. The first missionaries appear to have been only visitors and sojourners not permanent settlers in the country, whence they retraced their steps homewards.

The holy Agastya, according to one tradition²⁵ a grandson of Brahma, a son of Pulastya, a brother of Vieravas and an uncle of the Raksasa king, Ravana, is said to have remained in the South. Many miraculous deeds are ascribed to this diminutive sage. He is said to have been instrumental in the destruction of the powerful Nahusa, to have consumed and digested the Raksasa Vatapi, to have drunk the waters of the ocean, and to have forced the Vindhya mountains to prostrate themselves before him. This last feat was intended to symbolize the fact that he having settled down for good in Dravida, became the originator of Brahmanical colonisation. For he exacted from the insurmountable Vindhya, who was lying at his feet, the promise not to rise again until he had returned and recrossed, and as Agastya did not come back, the Vindhya could not lift its head again, and since then the mountain became passable for future immi-

²⁵ According to another tradition he was born together with *Vasistha* in a waterjar (therefore called *Kumbhasambhava*, *Kumbhayoni* and *Ghatodbhava*) as the son of Mitra and Varuna (therefore *Maitrararini*) and of the Apsaras *Urvashi*. In the *Svayambhuva Manvantara* the name of Agastya, as the son of Pulastya and Priti, is *Dattila*. According to the *Bhagavata-Purana* Agastya was the son of Pulastya and of Havirbhu and was called in a previous birth *Dakṣa* or *Jatkarana*. (See *Valmiki*, vol I, p. 154.) He is also called *Patadhara* Ocean-drinker and *Vatapidin*, as destroyer of Vatapi. His abode is fixed on the mountain *Kailasa*. Many hymns of the *Rigveda* are ascribed to him. Lassen (vol II, p. 23) has pointed out the incongruity of the reports respecting the time when he lived, as he is mentioned both as a contemporary of Anantaguna and of Kirtipujana Pandya.

grants. Agastya's residence is said to have been the mountain Malayam or Potiyam, not far distant from Cape Comorin ; in the firmament he shines as the star Canopus. To him is ascribed the civilisation of South-India, in fact the most famous ancient Tamil works in nearly every branch of science, such as divinity, astronomy, grammar, and medicine are attributed to him. In consequence he is specially called the Tamil sage (தமிழ் முனி).

EXPLANATION OF THE TERMS DRAVIDA, TAMIL AND ARAVAM.

Sanskrit is called in South-India the northern language or *vata moli*, வட மொழி, while the Dravidian goes by the name of the southern language, or *ten moli தென் மொழி*. Previous researches have established the fact that the words Dravida and Tamil are identical in meaning, that both resemble each other in form, and that Tamil seems to be a derivative from Dravida. Yet the origin of the word Dravida has hitherto not been explained. Though Dravida is generally restricted to denote Tamil: *Dravida*, *Dramuda* or *Dramila* is also applied to denote ancient Malayalam; in fact it is properly speaking applicable to all the Dravidian languages. The word *Dramila* occurs also in Sanskrit literature. I derive *Dramila* from *Tirumala* and explain it to signify the *sacred Mala* language, as Sanskrit is *kar' êξοχήν* the refined Aryan language.

It is immaterial to us whether *Tiru* is an original Dravidian word, or a derivation from the Sanskrit *Śrī*, prosperity. Some of the best Tamil scholars of the past as well as of the present day have declared in favour of *tiru* being a pure Dravidian word, and this has all along been my opinion also. *Tiru* was probably in course of time changed to *tira* or *tara*, then contracted to *tra* or *dra*, and finally to *ta* (*da*), both letters *t* and *d* being identical. The Vēda is called in Tamil *Tumāy*, the sacred word, and its Tamil adaptation specially

used by Vaisnavas is the well-known *Tuud̄y Moh.* Tiruvāy was eventually changed to *Taiuāy*, which is now generally used in the sense of *Veda-reading*. The word *Ōttu* does thus in Malayalam signify Veda and Vēda-reading. The *tiru* of *Tirumallankodu* has been similarly changed to *tra* in Travancore, both alterations—Dravida and Travancore—being no doubt due to the same Aryan influence. From Dramala to Dramila, Damila and Tamil is a short step, unless *Tamil* is directly derived from Tirumala. Dramila, Dramida and Dravida are Aryan corruptions of Tirumala and found re-admission into the South-Indian languages as foreign expressions, whose signification was forgotten and defied explanation. I recognize the name Tirumala also in the Tamala or Damala of *Dāmalasarubhayam* near Pādamangalam in the Trichinopoly district. Pandamangalam is regarded as the old capital of the former kings, among whom the name *Tumala* did not unfrequently occur. *Ubhayam* (உபயம்) is anything offered or devoted to religious purposes, and *Dāmalasarubhayam* denotes therefore the offering of the Tirumala people, *tar* being used as the affix of the Tamil pronoun of the third person plural. *Tirumalaraya* is in colloquial Telugu often called *Tuamalarāyalu*, as *Tirupati* becomes Tirapati. Like *Dāmalasarubhayam* might be mentioned *Damalaceruru* in North-Arcot, *Damal* in Chingleput, *Damalapadi* in Tanjore and others. I have been informed on good authority that the last place is to this day also known as Tirumalapadi. Yet, my derivation of Tirumala does not require the support of the etymology of these names.

Another but rarer form of Dramila is *Drumila*, which is derived from *Tirumala*, as *Tripati* from *Tirupati*, *Trikoṭṭil* for *Tirukoṭṭil*, or *Trikal* for *Tirukal*. The fact of the term *Tamil* being the ultimate derivative from Tirumala (Tramala) and denoting a special Dravidian dialect will perhaps serve in future researches as an historical clue for fixing the period when the various vernaculars of Southern India became sepa-

rate and distinct languages. If the *Lamyrike* (Λιμυρικη) of Ptolemy (VII, 1, 8 and 8a) is the *Damirica* repeatedly mentioned in the Cosmography of the anonymous geographer of Ravenna, as Bishop Caldwell has clearly pointed out by identifying it with Damirice or the Tamil country (see p. 14 of the Introduction to the second edition of the *Comparative Dravidian Grammar*), the work of Ptolemy contains the earliest mention of the word *Tamil*.

All these permutations prove the continual interchange of *m* with the other labial consonants, and of *l* into the *d* and *r* sounds.²⁶

²⁶ With respect to the above mentioned conjectures a few observations are perhaps necessary.

The change of *a* into *i* and *i* into *e* is not rare, as in *mala* and *mila*, *Damirica* and *Dimirica*, *tira*, open and *tara*, &c., &c. *Tiruvay* and its slang alteration into *Taravay* are both Tamil words, though the latter common form has been introduced into Telugu by Telugu Brahmans—especially by Vinayana Telugu Brahmans—who live in the Tamil country, and has thus found its way even into modern Telugu dictionaries. The term *Taravay* for Veda-dhyayana or Vedopakrama is neither found in Kanarese and Malayalam, nor in pure Telugu. The most important lesson which Brahman boys have to learn at and after their *Upanayanam* or investiture with the holy thread are Veda mantras. Children generally alter words so as to suit their pronunciation, and Tamil boys most probably invented *Taravay* for *Tiruvay* as they say *tara*, open instead of *tira*. This corrupted form found eventually access into common Tamil, for up to this moment *Taravay* is only considered a slang term. The origin of the word once forgotten, *tara* of *taravay*, was connected with the word *taram* in the meaning of *time* (once, twice, &c.), and as every lesson in order to be known must be repeated, so also the reciting of the Veda after so many times or *tara* *a*. It seems to be overlooked by those, who prefer this explanation, that the term *Taravay* is only applied to the repetition of the Veda and not to any other repetition: that if *tara* had been taken in the sense of “*time*,” it ought to be at the end of the word, and that the available *vay* gives no sense in *taravay* unless it is accepted as meaning *Veda* or holy word. *Taravay*, *taruvay*, in *taravata* and *taruvata* occur in Telugu in the meaning of *afterwards*, as do in Kanarese *taravaya* and *taruvaya*, but these words have nothing in common with the above mentioned Tamil *Tiruvay*. The elision of an *r* is also not unfrequent, as *trdgula*, to drink, in Telugu becomes generally *tagula*. Already Bishop Caldwell was struck with the strange formation of the word *Dravida* for he says: “The compound *dr* is quite un-Dravidian. It would be *tira* in Tamil, but even if we suppose some such word as *Tiravida* or *Tiramida* to have been converted into *Dravida* by the Sanskrit speaking people, we get no nearer to

The Telugu, Kanarese and other cognate northern races, when they had forgotten their claim to the name of Dravidians, called the Tamil language *Aravam*. This word *Aravam* is most likely a corruption of *Dravidam*. *Dravidam* or *Dramilam* became in its turn *Daramidam* (*Daramilam*), *Aravidam* (*Aravilam*), and finally *Aravam*.²⁷ However peculiar these changes may appear to the uninitiated, to the scientific philologist they can afford no special difficulty. Even in Sanskrit we occasionally observe an initial *d* dropped, e g, in *asru*, tear, which is *ḍakṣu* in Greek, *thrane* in German, and *lacryma* in Latin, while the elision of

an explanation of the original meaning of the word ' See Introduction to *Comparative Dravidian Grammar*, p. 13

The name *Tirumala* becomes in colloquial Telugu also *Tiramala* *Tim ala* and *Timma*. This last word must be distinguished from *Timma* for *tim-madu* or *timmanu* monkey. Similarly does *taṭṭula* n, betel, become *tamalamu* (or *tammalamu*) and *tamma*, and *tamara* lotus, *tara* n

In Tamil the verb *ṭu* (ṭṭ) means to recite the Veda, while *ṭṭu* (ṭṭṭ) signifies the Veda itself. Both words are Tadbhavam formed from the Sanskrit word *Veda*.

²⁷ The Tamil form *Tiravidam* for *Dravida* : appears to prove that the origin of the word *Dravida* had been forgotten when it was re introduced into Tamil. As the Telugu and Kanarese languages do not insert an *i* between two consonants in the same manner as Farsi does the derivation of *Aravam* from *Dravidam* gains in probability. In Kanarese the Tamil people are besides called *Tigalar*, which I am inclined to consider also as a corruption for *Trumala*. The *r* in the first syllable was dropped and the labial in the second has been changed into a guttural *g*, as is not unfrequent compare e g, *Kudaman* and *Kudavan* with *Kudagan*. *Tigala* and *Arara* have in this case the same meaning. I am aware that the Rev. Mr. Kittel whose opinion carries much weight, has declared that the original form of *Tigalar* (*Tigular*) was *Tigurar*.

The derivations of *Aravam* hitherto proposed appear to me to be inappropriate. Dr. Gundert thought it could be connected with *aram* virtue, and *araram* would have the meaning of a moralist. Others preferred the Tamil word *aravu* knowledge and *aravan* or *aravan* represented thus the Tamulian as the intelligent person of the South, others derived it from an obscure Tamil district *Arwad*. The defect of these etymologies is the fact that the Tamil people ignore the word *aravam*, so far as their name is concerned. The Telugu pandits are in favor of *arara* meaning a rata without sound, for the Tamil language does not possess aspirates, or is according to others ratt or rough while some Kanarese pandits proposed as its root the Kanarese word *araru*, half, or deficient as the ancient Kanarese people are said to have

medial consonants is not at all unusual in the Indian vernaculars, *Bēstaramu*, Thursday, in Telugu, *e g.*, for *Br̥haspativara*, *jannudamu* for *yajñōpavita*, *ānati* for *ājñapti*.

The importance I attach to the derivation of Dravidian from Tirumala in the specified sense can be duly appreciated only when one considers that it establishes at once the prominent position the Malas (Mallas) or Dravidians occupied in the whole of India. It may perhaps be interesting to quote from the eloquent preface of Hodgson on the Kocch, Bodo, and Dhimal Tribes the following sentences, in which the term Tamulian is employed as equivalent to Dravidian. "The Tamulian race, confined to India and never distinguished by mental culture, offers, it must be confessed, a far less gorgeous subject for inquiry than the Arian. But, as the moral and physical condition of many of these scattered members of the Tamulian body is still nearly as little known as is the assumed pristine entirety and unity of that body, it is clear that this subject had two parts, each of which may be easily shown to be of high interest, not merely to the philosopher but to the statesman. The Tamulians are now, for the most part, British subjects: they are counted by millions, extending from the snows to the Cape (Comorin); and, lastly, they are as much superior to the Arian Hindus in freedom from disqualifying prejudices as they are inferior to them in knowledge and all its train of appliances. Let then the student of the progress of society, of the fate and fortunes of the human race, instead of poring over a mere sketch of the past,

regarded Tamil to be a deficient language. Bishop Caldwell has treated at some length on this subject in his Introduction, pp 18-20

The initial consonant is often dropped in Dravidian languages, *e g.*, in Tamil *Aiat*, assembly, for *caai*, *alliyam*, village of herdsmen, for *valliyam*, *alai*, rat hole, for *calai* and *palai*, *amar*, war, from Sanskrit *samara*, *alam*, plough, from Sanskrit *pala*, *ita*, agreeable, from Sanskrit *aita*; in Telugu *esa*, haste, for *vesa*; *eila*, white, for *vella*, *ēyula*, to throw, for *vīyula*, *ēnu*, I, for *nēnu*, *iru*, thou, for *nīru*, *ēnu*, we, for *mēnu*, &c, &c

“address himself to the task of preparing full and faithful
 “portraits of what is before his eyes; and let the statesman
 “profit by the labours of the student; for these primitive races
 “are the ancient inheritors of the whole soil, from all the rich
 “and open parts of which they were wrongfully expelled.”

As points of minor interest I may as well here mention that the words Tirumāl and Perumāl are also derived from Mala (Malla). Both terms were originally the titles given by the Mallas to their great chiefs and kings. Each Perumāl was at first elected to rule for a period of twelve years, and was chosen from outside the country to govern Malanāḍu or Malayālam. As it often happens elsewhere with royal names, these were in later times applied as honorific appellations to the specially revered god, in this instance to Visnu. The terms *sacred Mala* or the *Great Mala* being once connected with the deity, lost their original meaning, which was in course of time entirely forgotten. This circumstance explains their peculiar derivations so often found in Tamil dictionaries, and the strange attempts of grammarians to explain their startling formations. The name of Perumāl, the great Mala, is still a royal title in Malabar.²³

CHAPTER IV.

THE PARIAS (PĀRATA, PAHĀRIA), BRANCHI, BĀR (BHĀR),
 MĀR (MHĀR), &c.

Before I turn to the Mallas known as Pallas, I shall, after a few remarks, discuss the position of the Pariahs

²³ The *māl* in Tirumāl is generally derived from *māl*, illusion, while the same *māl* in Perumāl is explained as a change for *mān* in the synonymous *Perumān*. The word Tirumāl supplies the best evidence of the radical nature of the *l* in Peromāl.

The indigenous title of the South-Indian Cera, Coja and Pāḍya king was *Perumāl*. Mēllan was the name of a Perumāl who built Mallar in

and kindred races The *Pallar* are described in Dr. Winslow's Tamil and English Dictionary as "a low dependent caste employed in busbandry, &c, under their fendal lords, a peasant tribo dwelling in the south, supposed to be a change of Mallar, மல்லர்." Though the Pallar, like the Pallis and other tribes regard themselves as the descendants of the Pallavas once so powerful, they themselves neither produce nor possess sufficiently reliable historical evidence in support of their claims, which nevertheless may be perfectly well-founded. I have often but in vain tried to obtain some authentic information from the various castes in corroboration of their assertions, but I have only received vague and unreliable statements.

DERIVATION OF THE WORD PARIAH.

If the term *Pariah* is considered to signify every outcaste from every caste, then the Pariahs, as such, do not come within the scope of this discussion; for though the greater part of them belong no doubt to the original or rather aboriginal Dravidian population, from which they have in later times been severed by hereditary social rules, and though they in their turn acknowledge among themselves caste distinctions, yet as every outcaste becomes to a certain extent a Pariah, the term Pariah does not represent now a strictly ethnological sub-division

On the other hand it must be admitted that irrespective of this foreign element which has been added to the Pariah community, the Pariahs represent a distinctly separate class of the population, and as such we have to deal with them here. The general name by which the Maratha Pariahs is known is *Paraiḍī*.

Polanadu *Mallan* is also called a rural deity which is set up on the border or on the ridges of rice fields Compare Dr Gundert's *Malayalam Dictionary*, p 801, and note 21 on p 21.

That their name, in spite of its usual derivation from *para* or *parai*, drum, should rather be connected with the name of the original Dravidian population, seems to me to admit of no question. The supposition that the Pariahs are the drummer-caste and have obtained their name from that instrument appears to rest on a weak foundation. It is most probably an afterthought, the more easily explicable since the lower classes delighted in the noise of the drum, and the name of the drum-heating class was transferred to the instrument by which the Pariah made his presence known. The lute of the Candāla (the *candāla-vallakī*, *candālikā*, *cāndālikā*, *kandōlī* or *kandōla-iīnā*) is similarly named after the Candāla, and not the Candāla after the lute. Moreover, the word *para* or *parai* is, except in Malayālam and Tamil, not found in the other Dravidian languages in the sense of drum and at the same time as the name of the Pariahs; for the Pariah is called *Holeyā* in Kanarese in spite of *pare* signifying a drum, and in Telugu he is known as *Mālarādu*, which word originally signifies *mountaineer* (see pp. 21 and 56). If the Pariahs were really the caste of drummers, they would most probably be called so, wherever they are found in India.

I regard the Pariah as the representative of the ancient Dravidian population, and as having been condemned to supply his name to the lowest layers of the population, as the ancient Śūdras after their subjugation gave their name to the Śūdra caste. It will be subsequently shown that the Candālas are among the Gaudians, what the *Pariahs* are among the Dravidians. This connection is even indicated by the name of the Candālas, which resembles those of the Kandaloī, Khandś and Gondś.

I think that the word *Pariah*, the *Paracārī* of the Marāṭha country, is intimately connected with the names of the Pāratas, Paradas, Paravar, Pardhis, Parhoyas, Pahārias or Māler, Bārs (Bhārs), Brahuis, Mārs (Mhārs), &c., &c., and that it designated originally a *mountaineer*, from the Dravidian root

para, preserved in the Malayalam *para*, in the Tamil *par* and *parai*, and the Telugu *paru*. The formation of the word *Paharia* corresponds probably with that of *Mahara*, and as *Mahara* or *Mahar* is derived from *Mhar* and *Mār*, as *Bahar* is from *Bhār* and *Bar*, so may also *Pahar* be regarded as a derivative from *Phār* and *Par*²⁹

²⁹ Bishop Caldwell remarks on p. 549 on this subject "It has been said "that the name *Pareiya*, or *Pariah*, is synonymous with that of the *Paharias* " (from *paār*, a hill), a race of mountaineers properly called *Malers*, "inhabiting the Rajmahal Hills, in Bengal and hence it is argued that the " *Pareiyas* may be considered, like the *Paharias* as a race of non Aryan non "Dravidian aborigines. It is an error, however, to suppose that there is "any connection between those two names. The word *Pariah*, properly " *Pareiya*, denotes not a mountaineer, but a drummer, a word regularly "derived from *parei*, a drum, especially the great drum used at funerals. "The name *Pareiya* is in fact the name of a hereditary occupation, the " *Pareiyas* being the class of people who are generally employed at festivals, "and especially at funerals as drummers."

The improbability of this derivation though advocated by such a great authority as the highly esteemed and learned Bishop has been pointed out by me. Moreover, it may be remarked that *Pariah* drummers are not employed at the festivals of Brahmins.

As the name of the *Pariah* is thus by high authorities derived from *parai*, drum it is here perhaps not out of place to mention some of the various kinds of drums used by the natives of Southern India. The drums vary as to their size, construction, the material they are made of and the manner in which they are carried. A *Damaru* (Sanskrit *Damru*) is carried by a bull a *Phakka* (Sanskrit *Phakka*) on a horse, a *Nagard* (of Semitic origin in Arabic, e.g., نغارة, Tamil *Nagara*) by an elephant or camel and a *Bheri* (Sanskrit *Bheri*) on a cart. Other kinds of drums are carried by men, as the *Tappattai* a small drum, which hangs from the left shoulder and is beaten under the left arm from below with a stick in the right hand, and from above with a small stick in the left hand. The *Tasa* a small semi globular shaped drum, is worn in front round the neck below the chest and beaten with two small sticks. The *Pel* (Sanskrit *Phala*) is a big drum which is also carried over the neck, but is beaten only with one stick in the right hand and with the other hand. The *Parai*, which has the euphemistic name of *Alanlaram*, is not carried, when beaten but lies on the ground between the feet of the drummer and is used at festivals, weddings and funerals. It is beaten only by a particular class of *Pariah* the *Vettuvan*, who burns corpses and digs graves. It is therefore neither beaten by all *Pariahs* nor used in common life. The *Tappattai* and *Tasa* are in fashion among the *Pariahs* and other low classes, though Muhammedans and *Sadras* practise on them occasionally. The beaters of the other drums are mostly *Sadras*. The *Kotas* and the *Todas* on the Nilagiri also have the *Tappattai* and *Tasa*. The term *parai* is in Tamil now used as the general term for drum. I believe that most of the

THE BRAHUIS

On the northern frontier of India near the Bolan Pass not far from the seat of the ancient Bhalānas, who are mentioned by the bards of the Rg-veda, begins the long chain of the *Brahui* mountains. This mountain range extends continuously from the vicinity of the Bolan pass to Cape Monze on the Persian Gulf, and is to this day the home of the Dravidian Brahme, who must be regarded as the western borderers of Dravidian India. The origin

above mentioned names of the drums are merely imitations of the sounds these instruments make. H. H. Wilson introduced by mistake the '*Palaya* or *Paraya*' in his translation of the second ed. of Aśoka. The *Māla* or Telugu Parāha are also called *Mannep vādū* or Highlanders. see *Ind. Antiq.* vol. VIII p. 218.

Compare Fr. Buchanan's *History, Antiquities, Topography and Statistics of Eastern India* edited by Montgomery Martin vol. II pp. 122, 123.

The mountain tribes are I believe the descendants of the original inhabitants of the country very little if at all mixed with foreign colonies. Their features and complexion resemble those of all the rude tribes that I have seen on the hills from the Ganges to Malabar that is on the Vindhya mountains. Their noses are seldom arched and are rather thick at the points. Their faces are oval. Their lips are full. Their eyes are exactly like those of Europeans. See Lassen *Indische Alterthumskunde* vol. I pp. 454, 458 (1st ed. pp. 330, 384). Die Paharia nennen sich selbst Maler oder Bergbewohner sie haben dieselben Züge und die Hautfarbe wie alle die rohen Stämme vom Ganges nach Malabar es soll die Sprache der Paharia reich an Worten sein die dem Tamil und Teluga zugleich angehören. On p. 1028 Lassen remarks in note 5. Es ist zu bemerken dass *Parada* zwar auch Bergbewohner bedeutet haben wird. —I believe that the *Parjas* of Jeypore should be included among these people though Mr. D. F. Carmichael prefers to regard this name as a corruption by metathesis from the Sanskrit word *Prayas* subjects. See *Manual of the District of Vāṇagapatam* p. 87. Madras Census Report of 1871 vol. I pp. 223, 225. —One of the *Koli* tribes on the Mahi Kanta hills is called *Parāh*. Two Rājput tribes of Mellāni are known by the name of *Parā* and *Parāria*.

The fishermen in Tinnevely are called *Paravar* (or *Paratar* and *Paratavar*). According to Mr. Simon Cassie Chetty in his *Remarks on the Origin and History of the Parawas* in vol. IV of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* pp. 130, 134. It is the general belief among the Parawas that their 'original country was Ayudhya or Oude and it appears that previously to the war of the Mahābhārat they inhabited the territory bordering on the river Yamuna or Jumna. In that section of the Mahābhārat entitled '*Ad parva*' it is said, that the king of the Parawas who resided on the banks of the Jumna having found an infant girl in the belly of a fish adopted her as his own daughter giving her the name of *Machehakindī* and that

of the names of the Baluches³⁰ and of the Brahuis is unknown, but I believe that they are in some way related to, if not indeed identical with, each other. I recognise in the name of the Paratas³¹ and Paradas who dwelt in North-eastern Baluchistan,—which country coincides with the *Paradenē* of Ptolemy,³²—the origin of the modern word Brahui. Both the Sanskrit as well as the Dravidian languages possess the two liquids *r* and *l*, yet the former letter seems to have

“when she grew up, she was employed (as was customary with the females of the Parawa tribe) to ferry passengers over the river. On a certain day, the sage *Parasara* having chanced to meet her at the ferry, she became with child by him, and was subsequently delivered of a son, the famous Vyasa, who composed the Puranas. Her great personal charms afterwards induced king *Santanu*, of the lunar race, to admit her to his royal bed, and by him she became the mother of *Vasistavrya*, the grandaunt of the *Pandavas* and *Kauravas*. Hence the Parawas boast of being allied to the lunar race, and call themselves accordingly, besides displaying at their wedding feasts the banners and emblems peculiar to it.”

This is the story of *Satyavati* (*Matsyagandhī*), the mother of Vyasa by *Parasara*, and of *Vasistavrya* and *Citrāngada* by *Santanu*, which is told in the *Adiparva* in the 63rd and 100th chapters and elsewhere, as also in the *Hārivaṃśa*, XVIII, 38–45. Compare also J. Talboys Wheeler's *History of India*, vol. I, pp. 60–62.

It is peculiar that the *Pallavapḍu* in the Telugu country who correspond to the *Pallis* in the South are mostly fishermen, though the same term *pallavapḍu* applies also to *villagers*. In North India a class of fishermen is called *Malla*. The name denotes the tribe and not the occupation.

³⁰ The modern Baluches say that they came from Aleppo in Syria. Little is known about the origin of their name. It resembles that of the *Ballas* and *Bhalanss*, though it is unsafe to make any conjecture in this respect.

³¹ See *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* x, 5, 7, xiii, 9, xiv, 21, &c. *Varāhamihira* mentions the *Paratas* together with the *Ramatas*, and with other nations on the northern frontier of India, e.g. *Śaka-Yavana Darada Parata-Rambōjah*. The *Paradas* occur in *Manu* (x 44), in the *Ramayāṇa*, and repeatedly in the *Mahābhārata*, *Hārivaṃśa* and *Viṣṇupurāṇa*.

It has been also proposed to explain *Parada* as meaning a people living across the river, in this case beyond the Indus. Such a name could hardly have been assumed by the *Paradas* themselves, especially if they had never crossed the Indus.

³² When describing *Gedrosia* Ptolemy VI, 21, 4, says: *Τα μὲν εἰς ἐπὶ θαλάσσης τῆς χώρας κατέχουσιν Ἰρβιτῶν αἰῶμαι, τὰ δὲ παρὰ τὴν Καρματίαν Περσίδαι (ἢ Περσίραι), τὰ δὲ παρὰ τὴν Ἀραχωσίαν Νευσυραῖοι, ἡ δὲ μέση τῆς χώρας πᾶσα καλεῖται Παραδηρῆ καὶ ἐκ αὐτῆς Περσισητη, μετ' οὗ τὰ πρὸς τῇ Ἰνδῷ κατέχουσιν Πάμναι.* Besides *Paradenē* may be mentioned as connected by

been preferred in more ancient times, as is seen, in the Vedic words *aram*, enough, and *rarāta*, forehead, instead of the later *alam* and *lalata*. The same peculiarity has been observed in ancient Iranian, and no valid objection can be raised against connecting the word *Parthra* of the cuneiform inscriptions (the classical *Parthra*) with Pahlav. The Parthians were Scythians or Turanians and so were the Pallas (Mallas) of India and their neighbours on the northern frontier of India.

The power of the Parthians becoming supreme in Persia, the name became identified with Persia, and after the disappearance of the Parthian or Pahlavi kings the words *Pahlavi* assumed in course of time the meaning of *ancient Persian* and even of *ancient*. It is a curious coincidence that in the Dravidian languages also a word resembling *Palla* in form means *old*, in Tamil and Malayalam *pala*, in Kanarese *paḷe* or *haḷe*, in Tulu *para*, etc. Under these circumstances I regard the *Bia* in Brabui as a contraction of *Bara*, and obtain thus in *Barahui* a name whose resemblance to that of the ancient *Bairhai* the modern *Bhars*, as well as to that of

similarity of name and vicinity of geographical position the districts *Parsia*, *Parsiāna* and *Parsiens*, the tribes of the *Parnoi* (Arsaces and Tiradates are said to have been Parnians), *Parātas*, *Parsidas* or *Parsiras* and *Parsyētas* and the mountain range of the *Paropamisos*.

According to the command of the king Sagara the *Yavanas* shaved their heads entirely, the *Śakas* shaved the upper half of their heads, the *Paradas* wore their hair long, and the *Pahlavas* let their beards grow (See *Hari-varṇa*, XIV 15-17)

Sagaraḥ svām pratiṣṭām ca gurōr vakyam niṣāmya ca	
dharmaṁ jaghāna tēṣāṁ vai vēśanyatvam cakāra ha	15
Arddham Śakanāṁ śirasō munḍayitvā vyasarjayat	
Yavanānāṁ śuṣṭh sarvaṁ Kāmbojanāṁ tatharva ca,	16
Parada muktaklēśaśca Pahlavāḥ śmaśrudhāraṇaḥ	
niṣsvādhāya vaṣaṭkārāḥ kṛtāḥ tēna mahātmana	17

Compare also *Viśṇu Purāṇa* of H. H. Wilson, edited by F. Hall, vol III, p. 294

Bishop Caldwell mentions that the practice of wearing long hair is characteristic of the Dravidians (See *Dravidian Grammar*, 2nd edit., Introduction, p. 114) Beards are also worn by many Dravidian races

the Pārātas and Paravar, and their kindred the Marātha *Paravārī* and Dravidian Parheyas of Palāmanu is striking. It is also not impossible that the country Parāsa, which corresponds to Northern Baluchistan and not to Persia, and is mentioned in Hiven-Tsiang's travels, contains the same name. The interchange of *r* and *l* is equally apparent in the name of the Māras or Malas of Palāmanu, who derive their origin from Mālva. The connecting link between the Brahuīs and the ancient Dravidians through the Bhārs, Parheyas, Mārs and Malas, &c, seems to be thus established.³³

THE BĀRS OR BHĀRS

After the Brahuīs the aboriginal Indian race of the Bars or Bhars claims our attention. The earliest mention of them is found in Ptolemy VII, 2, 20, where they are called

³³ The late Dr Trumpp was fully persuaded of the Dravidian character of the Brahu language. With respect to the explanation of the name most authorities seem to admit that the first syllable *Bra* is originally dissyllabic. The *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* contains in vol XIX, pp 69-136 "An Essay on the Brahu Grammar" after the German of the late Dr Trumpp, of Munich University, by Dr. Theodore Duka, M R A S, Surgeon-Major, Bengal Army. On p 64 we read "The national name, Brāhūi is pronounced in several ways. Nicolson and Maulawi Alla Bux spell it Būruhi (that is Būroohi or Būrohu), but we must not forget that Būruhi (بروہی) is a Sindhu word and it is therefore difficult to say how the people in question call themselves. In Nicolson's Reader the word occurs twice written بروہی, which cannot be pronounced otherwise than Brāhūi or Būrahūi, and this should, therefore, be adopted as the proper pronunciation of the word."

This statement is not quite correct. it can as well be pronounced *Barahūi*, for برہ, large, is pronounced *bara*, and بارہ, abreast, *barabar*, &c

According to Mr C Masson *Brahui* is a corruption of *Ba-roh-i*

The word Brahu appears to indicate a *highlander*, for a tribe of the Baluchis is called *Nhāru*, not a hill man, i e, a dweller in the plain. The Nhārus "may be considered to hold the same place with reference to the Brahuīs that 'lowlanders' do to 'highlanders'" see *The Country of Balochistan*, by A W Hughes, p 29

My derivation appears thus to have a good foundation

See Dr Fr Buchanan's *Eastern India*, edited by M Martin, vol II, p 126 "The northern tribe consider their southern neighbours as brethren, and call them Maler, the name which they give themselves, but the southern tribe, shocked at the impurity of the others, deny this consanguinity, and

Barrhar They do not appear to be specially quoted in Sanskrit literature, unless the wild mountaineer tribe of the *Bharatas*, who occur in the dictionaries along with the *Sabaras*, is considered identical with them. Sir Henry M. Elliot thought that the *Bhārs* might perhaps be the *Bharatas*, whose descent is traced to Jayadhvaja. According to the *Harivamśa* the *Bharatas* are very numerous. The *Bhars* pronounce their name very harshly, and it is by no means impossible that the well known Aryan word *harharian*, *Barbara* or *Vaniara* in Sanskrit, owes to a certain extent its origin to them.³⁴ The *Bhar* tribe is also known as *Rajbhar*, *Bharat* and *Bharpatva*.³⁵ There is some contention between the *Bhar* and the *Rajbhār* as to superiority, but this is a difficult point to decide, some regard the *Rajbhars* as

most usually call the northern tribe *Chet*, while they assume to themselves the denomination of *Māl* or *Mar*, which however is probably a word of the same derivation with *Maler*. Compare also note 23 on p. 22, and *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal* by Colonel E. J. Dalton, p. 264. "We have a tribe called *Māl* or *Mar*. They declare they came originally from *Mālwa*. *Mālwa* is the chief seat of the *Bhil* race who are considered aborigines of that district. *Malavas* and *Bhils* may be identical, and our *Paharias* and *Bhils* cognates."

³⁴ See Genl. Sir A. Cunningham in his *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. XVII, p. 140. "We know at least that the Aryans ridiculed the aborigines on account of their *burr*, and gave them the nick name of *barbaras* or barbarians from which we may conclude that any words containing the burred *r* must be indigenous."

The word *barbar* is spelt in Hindustani *barbar*, بربار. Compare 'Notes on the *Bhars* and other Early Inhabitants of Bundelkhand' by Vincent A. Smith in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* [1877] vol. XLVI, pp. 227-236 where in the first note on p. 227 we read "The name is usually spelt '*Bhar*' but the spelling '*Bharr*' would more accurately represent the pronunciation."

³⁵ See Sir Henry M. Elliot's *Supplemental Glossary of Indian Terms* vol. I pp. 33 and 34. "Common tradition assigns to them the whole tract from Gorakhpur to Bundelkhand and Saugor, and the large Pargannah of Bhadoi, in Benares (formerly *Bhardas*) is called after their name. Many old stone forts, embankments, and subterraneous caverns in Gorakhpur, Azimgarh, Jaunpur, Mirzapur, and Allahabad which are ascribed to them, would seem to indicate no inconsiderable advance in civilization. The wild *Bhils* of Marwar are called *Bhaunris* but I know not whether there is any connexion between them and the *Bhars*. The *Bhojas* and *Bhutias* of Agori and

descended from the old Bhar nobility, who themselves claim to have been formerly *Ksatriyas*. They do not eat swine's flesh as the Bhārs do, and this abstinence is regarded as an indication of greater respectability. All these races are now very much mixed. The Bhārs are often mentioned together with the Cherus.

We possess very little information about the ancient history of the Bhārs. Legend associates their name with the earliest Aryan heroes, e.g., with *Rama* and his sons, but the Bhārs suddenly disappear from the scene, and, so far as history is concerned, reappear just previously to the Mahommedan invasion of India, at which period they certainly possessed a vast territory, and were indeed the real owners of the soil.

In fact the Bhārs must have once ruled over a great area of country stretching from Oudh in the west to Behar in the east and Chota Nagpur, Bundelkund and Sagar in the south. Their name still survives in Bahar, Bahraich (Bharaich), Bāra, Baragaon, Bāra Banki, Barhapara and Barwan in Oudh, in Bareilly, Barhaj, Barhar (or Bharhar) in the North-Western Provinces, in Bar, Barabar, Baraghi and Barhiya in Behar, in Barva in Chota Nagpur, and in many other places.³⁶ *Bara* in Oudh is said to have been founded

Singrauli, who are generally classed as *Ahirs* may probably bear some relation to the Bhārs though no trace can now be had of their descent. The Cherus also are sometimes said to be a branch of the Bhārs. It is strange that no trace of Bhārs is to be found in the Puranas unless we may consider that there is an obscure indication of them in the 'Brahma Purana' where it is said that among the descendants of Jayadhvaja are the *Dharatas* who it is added 'are not commonly specified from their great number,' or they may, perhaps be the Bhargas of the Mahabharata, subdued by Bhim Sen on his Eastern expedition. The Bhārs consider themselves superior to Rajbhārs notwithstanding the prenomens of Raj, but this claim to superiority is not conceded by the Rajbhārs. They do not eat or drink with each other."

See *Harivamsa* XXXIII, 53. *Bharataśca suta jata bahuvrannanukirtitah*

³⁶ See *The Bhārs of Audeh and Bandras* by Patrick Carnegie Commissioner of Rai Bareilly, Oudh printed in the *Bengal Asiatic Journal*, vol 45, p 303. "The parganas of Bhardoi, Bhaross, Bahraich and Bharoh and the

by a Bhār Raja called Bāra, while the foundation of *Bāra Banki* is associated with Jas, another Bhār Raja. The Linga on the top of the *Barabār* hill near Gayā was according to local tradition placed there by a Bār Raja, whose combats with Kṛṣṇa are even now remembered by the people.³⁷ This is most probably an allusion to the Asura *Bāna*, the son of Bali. The *Bārhapāra* pargana is still populated with aboriginal Bhārs. The pargana *Bhadohi* or *Bhārdohi* is called after them, and the name of the town of *Bharaich* is also derived from their name.³⁸

Traces of the former supremacy of the Bhārs are found scattered all over the country. Most of the stone erections, fortifications, as well as the embankments, and the subterranean caves in Gorakhpur, Azimgarh, Janpur, Benares, Mirzapur, and Allahabad are ascribed to them. Such forts generally go now by the name of *Bhār-dih*. The grand ruins known as those of Pampāpurā in the neighbourhood of the modern

town of Bhārtipur (near the Bhar capital, Kusbhawanpur *alias* Sultanpur), are all believed to derive their names from the Bhārs. Sleeman also mentions a large district of nearly a thousand villages near Mahandi, which even in his day was known as Bharwara, now occupied by Ahban Rājputs.³⁹ Compare *Bengal Asiatic Journal*, vol. 46, pp. 227 and 228. "The former presence of the Bhārs in the Hamirpur District is attested by the traditions, which will be presently described, and by local names in every pargana. A few examples of such names out of many may be of interest, thus the old name of the town of Samerpur (in Parg. Samerpur) is Bharua, and in the parganas of Maudha, Panwari-Jaipur, Jalalpur, and Raib, respectively, we find localities named Bharawan, Bharwara, Bharkhari or Barkhari, and Bhapraura Keri, and in several of these cases the evidence of the name is confirmed by that of tradition." With respect to Baragson Genl. Sir A. Cunningham (*Archæological Survey of India*, vol. I, p. 28) says "By the Brahmans these ruins (of Baragson) are said to be the ruins of Kundilpur. I doubt the truth of this Brahmanical tradition, more especially as I can show beyond all doubt that the remains at Baragson are the ruins of Nālanda, the most famous seat of Buddhist learning in all India."

³⁷ About *Barabār* compare *Arch. Survey of India*, vol. I, pp. 40-53. Sir A. Cunningham derives the name from "bars and awars, or Barawars, the great enclosure (see p. 43)," as there was an enclosure on the Siddhastara hill. See *ibidem*, vol. VIII, pp. 35-37.

³⁸ Genl. Sir A. Cunningham identifies the *Bardasotis* of Ptolemy with Bharhut. See *Arch. Survey of India*, IX, pp. 2-4 and XXI, p. 92. Compare also *Bengal Asiatic Journal*, vol. XVI, pp. 401-416.

Mirzapur probably owed their origin to the Bhārs. Mr. C. A. Elliot states that "almost every town whose name does not end in *pūr*, or *ābād*, or *now*, or is not distinctly derivable from a proper name, is claimed by tradition, in the east of Oudh, as a Bhar town. The district of Bharaich . . . is their oldest abode, and the name of the town Bharaich is said to be derived from them." Traces of the Bhārs abound according to Mr. Dutboit, late Superintendent of the Maharaja of Benares, "on all sides in the form of old tanks and village ferts. One cannot go for three miles in any direction without coming upon some of the latter." Not very long ago the Bhārs were the lords of the soil in the districts of Benares and Oudh, and according to the still prevailing tradition in Azimgarh, the Rajbhārs occupied the country in the time of Rama. The structures left by the Bhārs prove that they were equally proficient in the arts of peace and of war. The remains ascribed to them are especially numerous in the Benares district."

Benares or Vārāṇasī (Bīrīnāsī) lies on the banks of the Barna (or Varanā), where it flows into the Ganges. I am of opinion that Bīrīnāsī owes its name to the Bārs or Bhārs. I assign likewise the name of Behar or Bahar to the same origin, especially as the Bhārs were once the rulers in this district, and as the usual derivation from *Vihāra*, a Buddhist temple, seems to me very problematic, the more so

"Compare Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, vol. I, pp. 357-373 on the Bhar tribe, and the *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. XII, p. 82. "It is said that Nagar Khas and Pokhra, and the land generally around the Chando Tal, were originally in the possession of the Bhars, who may possibly, therefore, have founded some of the ancient cities in that neighbourhood." Read also *Bengal Asiatic Journal*, vol. XLV, p. 305, about the *Bhardās* (or Bhar-abās).

On the other hand, Mr. Smith, *ibidem*, vol. XLVI, p. 231, remarks "The Bhars of Bunklikhand, so far as we know them, seem to have possessed little of the arts of civilization, and to have consequently left behind them almost nothing of architectural or artistic interest."

as Behar was not the only district in India which was covered with such religious buildings. Not far north from the old town of Behar lies to this day the district and village of *Bu Bahar* is also the name of a small place in Oudh. It might perhaps be advisable to discontinue deriving the names of Indian localities from Sanskrit words, as has been usually done hitherto, unless where such derivations are well supported. General Sir A. Cunningham thinks that too much stress has been laid upon the popular traditions which ascribe nearly all the ancient remains to the Bhars.⁴⁰ But, impossible though it may be to prove the authenticity of the legends, it can hardly be doubted that a good deal of truth does underlie them.

In the explanation of the local names a great difficulty arises because many words of Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic and

⁴⁰ See Gen. Sir A. Cunningham *Archæological Survey of India* vol. VI, p. 67. It has been the fashion to refer all the remains of antiquity in Eastern Oudh to the barbarous race of aboriginal Bhars.

Instead of proving the incorrectness of such statements that may be and indeed are wrong in some cases Sir Alex. Cunningham substitutes another etymology to which also many real objections can be made. He is in favor of substituting for the name of the *Bhar* people that of the *bar* (banian) tree which is in Sanskrit *Lata*. Speaking of the native *burr* as mentioned on p. 38 in note 31 he continues on p. 140 of vol. VIII: "To this class I would refer the name of the banian tree *bat* which is invariably pronounced *bar* or *war*, with a burning r. Hence *as da* means 'water in several of the aboriginal dialects we have *Ward* or the 'Banian tree river'. That this is the true derivation of the name seems nearly certain from the plentifulness of the banian tree in the Warda district, where we also find the names of *War-ara*, *Warar*, *Wargaon*, *Warhona*, *Barha*, *Hargai*, *Warghari*, *Warkuli*, *Warnera* and *Wagnera* and *Bagnera*, several times repeated and even the name of Berar itself is said to be properly *War Hdr* or *Barhdr* the country of the *bar* 'a banian tree'."

Some of these etymologies appear very doubtful, especially those of *Wargaon* and *Ferar*. I should perhaps remark that the places given by Sir Alex. Cunningham differ from those quoted by me on p. 39. It is also peculiar that most of the localities above mentioned are written with an initial *W*. Compare also the notes about the Banian (*Bar*) forests in the *Hatch* paragraph in the *Archæological Survey of India* vol. VIII pp. 52-54 and vol. XXII pp. 1-13.

other origin are very similar to the tribal name of the Bhārs⁴¹

These people formed no doubt a considerable portion of the old population of Northern India. Though the Aryan power was for some time paramount in this part of Bharata-varṣa, and our historical accounts about the Bhārs begin at a considerably later period—in fact after the Buddhist reformation—we are as yet unable to define the time of the supremacy of the Bhārs. I am of opinion that the Aryan invaders subdued the Bhārs, and kept them in the background till they in their turn were vanquished by other intruders. The non-Aryan population continued to occupy the ground as previously in the capacity of landowners, farmers and serfs. The Buddhist re-action brought them again to the front. Some of them who were landholders or farmers were called Bhūmijās, from *Bhūmi*, land, and are now known by this name⁴²

⁴¹ E.g., *bār*, *bādr*, *bārd*, *bārd*, burden, *bār*, signifies also in Hindustani according to the various words from which it is derived, time water, prohibition, &c., *bārd*, boy, *bārāh*, twelve, *bār*, excellent, *barr*, wasp, *bard* and *bard*, large, *bār*, Indian fig-tree, &c.

⁴² See General Sir A. Cunningham in the *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. XI, pp. 130-131. "There is a ruined fort on the hill above the village (Bhūmī). The derivation of the name is not known but I suspect it to be connected with the great tribe of *Bhūmijās*, and that it may be only a slightly altered form of *Bhūmijās*. The *Bhūmijās* are by far the most numerous class in the Chunar and Sahsaram districts. They are evidently the aborigines or old inhabitants of the country. Buchanan writes the name *Bhūmijār*, but I believe that the proper appellation is simply *Bhūmijās*, or 'men of the earth, or *autochthones* a title given to them by the Brahmins. They generally call themselves *Musahār*."

See the *History, Antiquities, Topography and Statistics of Eastern India*, edited by Montgomery Martin, London, 1853, vol. I, p. 163. "The Bhār have been fully mentioned in my account of Puraniya, in the north-western parts of which, and in the adjacent parts of Tirah and Nepal they were at one time the governing tribe." further, pp. 176-177, 178: "In this district the most numerous of these tribes is called *Musahār*, and they, probably like the *Bhūmijās*, are the remains of the armies of Jarasandha. In some parts, *Musahār* and *Bhūmijār* are reckoned two names for the same tribe which is probably a just opinion (176). The *Barbars* are a

As many changed or disowned their tribal name, the seeming disappearance of the Bhars can be explained to a great extent. They were also largely absorbed by other

"pretty numerous tribe (177) They pretend that their common ancestor was a certain Rishi, who had two sons From the eldest are descended the Rajwars, who became soldiers and obtained their noble title, from the younger are descended the Musahars, who have obtained their name from eating rats which the Rajwars reject They differ in scarcely any of their customs from the Musahars The Rajwars and Bhungiyas are allowed to be higher than the Musahars They all speak a very impure dialect of the Hindi The Musahars live chiefly in little round huts, like bee hives, but the huts of the Bhungiyas and Rajwars are of the usual form The Bhungiyas and Rajwars have chief men called Majhis, like those of the hill tribes in Bhagalpur" (178). vol II, p 119

About the Musahar race. "The Musahars of Central and Upper India," by John O Nesfield, in the *Calcutta Review* of January 1888, pp 1-63 On p 2, Mr Nesfield says "In Buchanan's *Eastern India* they are described as a people 'who have derived their name from eating rats' "In an old folk-tale, which has recently come to my knowledge, the name is made to signify flesh-seeker or hunter (being derived from *maru*, flesh, and *Ara*, seeker) "

Compare Dalton, *Ethnology of Bengal*, pp 81, 82, 92, 130, 148—

"The Kocchis then gave a line of princes to Kamrup, at this time a part of Upper Asam was under a mysterious dynasty, called the Bhara Bhuya, of which no one has ever been able to make anything (81) All the works still existing in the deserted forests of the northern bank of the Brahmaputra are attributed to the Bhara Bhungyas or Bhuyas (82) (Buchanan, vol II, p 612, mentions already the legend of the 12 persons of *Bdrah Bhuyas*) The Kocch appear to me equally out of their element among the Lohitic tribes In short I consider they belong to the Dravidian stock, and are probably a branch of the great Bhuya family, and we thus obtain a clue to the tradition of the Bhars Bhuyas, to whose period of rule so many great works in Asam are ascribed (92)

According to Colonel Dalton, p 327, the Rajwars in Sirghja "are skilled in a dance called *Chalo*, which I believe to be of Dravidian origin " See the two articles "On the Barah Bhuyas of Eastern Bengal," by Dr James Wise, in the *Bengal Asiatic Journal*, vol LXIII, pp 197-214, and vol LXIV, pp 191-83 Dr Wise relates the history of five Bhuyas, i.e., of Earl Ghazi of Bhowal, Chand Rai and Kedar Rai of Bakrampur, Lakhan Manik of Bhaluah, Kandarpa Narayana Rai of Chandradip, and Isa Khan, Masnad i Ali of Khirpur

Compare further *Notes on Mahasthan near Pagura (Dogra), Eastern Bengal*, by C J O'Donnell, *ibidem*, LXIV, pp 183-186 On page 183 we read "With regard to Mahasthan he (the District Deputy Collector) seems more correct He identifies it with *Pasenda*, the capital of the Parendra Harjus In favour of this view the only arguments are strong, though

castes and communities, but a sufficient number of them still exists⁴³

Many Rajputs have Bhār blood in their veins, and Dr. Francis Buchanan went so far as to state that the *Parihāra* Rajputs of Shahabad are descended from the Bhārs.⁴⁴

"simple The whole country between the Ganges, the Mahavanda, Kamrup, and the Karatoya, was undoubtedly the old Barindra Desha. To the present day, much of it is called 'Barind'. All round it, however, there are shrines, holy wells and embankments connected with the name of Bhima, one of the Pandava brothers. Bhima is said to have made a large fortified town south of Mahasthan, which is marked by great earthworks altogether about eight miles long, and still in places as much as twenty feet high. The whole country between them and Mahasthan is in places covered with bricks. It may be mentioned in connection with Mahasthan that there is a legend that on a certain occasion twelve persons of very high distinction and mostly named Pāla came from the west, to perform a religious ceremony on the Karatoya river, but arriving too late, settled down on its banks till the next occurrence of the holy season, the Narayan, which depends on certain conjunctions of the planets, and was then twelve years distant. They are said to have built numerous places and temples, dug tanks, and performed other pious acts. They are said to have been of the Bhunihar or Bhāman Zamindar tribe, which is, at the present day, represented by the Rajas of Dinara and Dhatta." See also *Archaeological Survey of India*, vol. XV, p. 115.

⁴³ The Census of 1881 counts 352,779 Bhārs, of whom 20,870 live in Bengal, 1,639 in the Central Provinces, and 360,270 in the North-Western Provinces.

⁴⁴ See Dr. Buchanan's report in Montgomery Martin's vol. II, p. 463. "In the account of Shahabad I have mentioned, that those pretending to be such (*Parihar* Rajputs) were in fact Bhārs or Bhawars and the same might be supposed to be the case here (in Gorakhpore), where the Bhārs were once lords of the country, but the Bhārs here do not pretend to have any kindred with the Parihars, and the latter are not only allowed to be a pure but a high tribe," and vol. I, 493. "The tribe of palanquin-bearers, including *Parihar* Rajputs, *Pajbans* Bhārs, and *Pajbars* amounts to about 600 families."

Compare P. Carnegie in the *Bengal Asiatic Journal*, vol. XLV, p. 300. "Many years of the official life of the writer have been devoted to duties which involved the examination of the genealogies of some of our oldest and best native families, and the results of his inquiries have led him to the following conclusions (1) that not a single member of the landed gentry or local priesthood can trace back to an ancestor who held an acre of land, or who administered a spiritual function within the area under inquiry during the Bhār supremacy, (2) that scarcely any of them can trace back to an ancestor who came into Audh at the Muhammadan advent,

The Bhārs like other tribes have embraced the different creeds, which from time immemorial prevailed in India;

"when the Bhārs, who were then in universal possession of the land, were overthrown, and (3) that the great mass of the landowners of to-day can trace no further back than to an ancestor whose origin is easily discovered to be both indigenous and spurious. I have found this opinion so generally entertained that there was a Rajput conquest and colonization of Audh, that it requires a distinct answer. I have not discovered the existence of any such central tradition of conquest by Rajputs from without. I can refer to the histories of many Rajput clans, but none of them declare the arrival of an army of clansmen, and colonization by the victors with their families and kin. The very fact of the singular connections to which so many of the clans trace their descent is opposed to the idea of a conquest by arms. An orthodox Hindu, the conqueror of a low born race, would not have founded a family by an alliance which his religion sternly rebuked. It is finally noticeable that the Audh clans who claim an extreme provincial origin, trace their descent to single Chatris, and not to troops of Rajput invaders. Such are the Bais of Baiswara, and the Rajkumars. .. With these two exceptions none of the clansmen of eastern Audh claim a western origin. In regard to the *third* class, it is always invidious to enter into details of *pedigrees*, but a few amongst very many available instances may be given. The Kanpuri is one of our most important clans, so is the Bandelgot. In twenty generations according to the members, both these pedigrees are lost in obscurity, but what the world says is this, that they are the offspring of mal alliances between two Brahman brothers, and women of the Ahir and Dharkar tribe. The Amethia is not an unimportant clan. They call themselves Chamar-gor Rajputs, and their generations are not longer than the other named. What the world says of this, is that a Chamar-gor is the offspring of a Chamar father and a Gor-Brahman woman. Moreover within the memory of man, an Amethia Chisaf has, according to Sleeman, taken to wife the grand-daughter of an ex-Past Chowkildar and raised up orthodox seed unto himself. The Raotars are another numerous clan with but half the number of generations, and with precisely a similar parentage as the Kanpuri (Brahman-Ahir). Their name is taken from Rawat an Ahir chief. The Pulwars are influential and numerous, and of these it is said that they are descended from a common ancestor, who had four wives of whom one only was of his own status, the others being a Bharia, an Ahira, and another low caste woman. Here we have a Hindu-Bhar origin freely admitted. The Bhalesaltan clan, also, is comparatively modern, and of equivocal Ahir origin. There are numerous families of Bais, too, who are in no way related to the Tilokchandi Bais of Baiswara. The former are modern and equivocal, the term Bais being, it may be mentioned, the most ready gate by which enlistment into the fraternity of Rajputs could formerly be achieved. .. Finally, all those landowning families who can only urge an indigenous origin, must, whether they admit it or not, recognise the fact that they are descendants of Bhārs, for every acre of land was

but Buddhism and Jainism were naturally more popular than any other foreign religion.⁴⁵

A considerable number of Bhārs fills the post of village policemen, while others are ploughmen, but the vast majority of this race are now in a miserable condition.

In spite of the abilities they exhibit when suitably employed, and in spite of the reputation of their ancestors which has survived to this day, the descendants of the ancient rulers of the land have now lost nearly everything and are reduced to the most abject condition.

The Mārs, Mhārs, Mahārs, Mhairs or Mers.

While speaking about the Mallas I availed myself, on pp. 21 and 22, of the opportunity of introducing the Mahārs or Mhārs, whom I recognised as the people who had given their name to *Mahānāṣṭra*. But it was not in that country alone that the Mahārs were confined, for they have always been occupants of Rajputāna. The provinces which now go by the name of (Ajmere) Mhairwāra and (Jodhpur) Mārwar are their ancient home. "The *Mair* or *Mera* is," according to Colonel Tod, "the mountaineer of Rajpootana, and the country he inhabits is styled *Mairicaria* or the region of hills." These hillmen by and bye populated the plain and are also found there.⁴⁶ They remained masters of the soil until they were ousted later on by victorious invaders. As chiefs and warriors, like other aboriginal tribes, they have a claim to be

"owned, and the country was throughout peopled by these alone and by "no others"—Compare also the article "On the Dhat Kings of Eastern Oudh," by W. C. Bennett, in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. I, 1872, pp. 265 and 266.

⁴⁵ Compare *Bengal Asiatic Journal*, vol. XLV, p. 303

⁴⁶ See *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* by Lieutenant-Colonel James Tod, vol. I, 880.—The name of *Mārwar* is generally connected with Sanskrit *maru*, desert, mountain, rock. I believe this derivation to be wrong, though it gives a pretty good explanation of the diversified nature of the country, which is hilly in one part and arid in the other.

called Rājputs, for the name of Rājput or Rajaputra confers only a social, and not an ethnological distinction. The term Rajput is generally applied to an Aryan Ksatriya, though everybody knows that the victors intermarried freely with the vanquished non-Aryans, who were never totally annihilated, and that the Mars and other non-Aryan tribes claim relationship with the Rājputs.

No real ethnological difference between a Mār (Mhār, Mahar) and a Mhair (Mer) has been found to exist. It has been previously mentioned that, according to Colonel Dalton, "Mar or Māla is a very uncertain name applied to or assumed by different people in different parts of India, but it may be that there is some affinity between all the tribes who bear it."

Many Mars (Mhārs) have clung to their hills as strongholds; some have comfortably settled down as cultivators, while by far the greater part are exposed in consequence of their indigence to severe oppression, and are treated like Pariahs. In fact, the history of the Mar (Mhar) resembles that of the Bhar and the Pariah, and, like the latter, he has also retained in the Dekhan a small amount of influence. For, according to Mr. R. N. Gooddine, "he is the watchman and guardian of the village and the living chronicle of its concerns. His situation or his curiosity makes him acquainted with everybody's affairs, and his evidence is required in every dispute. Should two cultivators quarrel respecting the boundaries of their fields, the Mhār's evidence ought to decide it, and should a similar quarrel happen between two villages, the Mhars are always the chief actors

⁴¹ See Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol I, 681, Hunter's *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol I, 97 "All the inhabitants of Mhairwara bear the common title of Msirs or hillmen, which, however, must be regarded rather as a geographical than as a social or religious distinction" and VII, 514, "Most of these (the Minas and Mhars) claim irregular descent by half blood from Rājputs, while some of them are closely connected with the Dhils."

"in it, and to their decision alone it is sometimes referred.
 "The Mhār is emphatically called the *village-eye*."⁴³

THE MARAVAR.

The *Maravars* in Madura and Tinnevely likewise claim the position of Rajputs, and if we regard them as a warrior tribe, they are entitled to this distinction. They are also most probably in some way connected with the Mars of the north. The Maravar have to a great extent preserved their freedom and independence. They are brave, warlike, and self-willed like most semi-barbarous races, but they have latterly taken to more peaceful pursuits than they used to follow formerly. They were once very numerous, but are now greatly reduced in numbers. Their chief is the *Sētopati* of *Ramnād*, one of the oldest and most respected princes in Southern India, and who is still highly honored by,

⁴³ See this extract from Mr R. N Gooddine's Report on the "Village Communities of the Dekhan," in vol II, pp 207-208 of Rev M A Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, as well as Sherring's further remarks.

Mr W F Sinclair says (see *Indian Antiquary*, vol III, 1874, pp 130, 131) "The *Mahars* or *Dheds* are the most important caste of Parwaris. Whether they are the aborigines of the country or not, there does not seem to be any way of deciding, but it seems to me that the term *Maharashtra*, generally translated 'country of the Marajhas,' is at least as likely to mean 'country of the Mahars,' and I throw this out for more learned Sanskritists to decide upon. However, they are a very important people in at now, nor must it be supposed that their position, though socially low, is without its rights and dignities. . . The *Mahar*, as I have mentioned, is not only the guardian of boundaries, but also of the public peace and health, as watchman and scavenger, of communications, for he should guide travellers and make petty road repairs, and of the public treasure and correspondence, for it is his duty to carry the revenue to the treasury, and convey all messages on account of Government. It will be seen that he has no surname (and) it is obvious that he is not one 'of the Queen's bad bargains.' These duties belong to the *Mahar* as *gastar*, or village watchman. . . But the *Tardi* or gate-ward, an officer found in a good many villages, is generally also a *Mahar* by caste. The term *Dhed* is simply Hindustani for a *Mahar* and is found as we go northward." Compare "Two Lectures on the Aboriginal Race of India," by Lieut General Briggs, *Royal Asiatic Soc Journal*, XIII, pp 275-309, specially p 281. See my remarks about the origin of the term *Maharashtra* on pp 22 and 23.

and exacts honors from, the surrounding chiefs and princes. The active life which the Maravan leads in the open air has imparted to him great bodily strength. He can be easily distinguished from other natives by his good figure and generally erect and proud bearing.⁴⁹

The Pariah, Paharia, Parheya, the Brahui, Bār or Bhār and the Mar, Mhar or Mahar of our day should, as I hope to have proved, be regarded as the descendants of the original Dravidian population. I am of opinion that all these tribes, whose names contain the letter *r*, are the representatives of the first and oldest stratum of the Dravidian race, and that the descendants of the *Malla* or *Palla* are those of the second stage, from which the other part of the present Dravidian population has been gradually evolved.

RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL PRIVILEGES ENJOYED BY PARIAHS.

In Mysore the *Holiya* or *Holeya* (ಹೊಲಿಯ, ಹೊಲಿಯ) takes the place of the Pariah. The word *Holiya* may be another form for *Pulaiya*, unless we assume that the *l* in *Holiya* is a change from *r* and connect the word *Holiya* with *Paruya*.

However despised a position the Pariah and the *Holiya* occupy in the places where they live, they have preserved and still cherish, as the *Mhār* and *Bhar* do, the memory of former greatness and regard themselves as the original owners of the soil. Political revolutions, about which we now know nothing, have most probably been the cause of

⁴⁹ Maravan also means originally *mountaineer*, but Mr Nelson in his *Manual of Madura*, has quoted (II, p. 39) a legend, according to which the Maravar sided with Rāma against Rāvāṇa, and Rāma thanked them and "exclaimed in good Tamil, *Maraven* or 'I will never forget', and that they have ever since been called Maravans. With more probability the name may be connected with the word *maram*, ಮರಂ, which means killing, "ferocity, bravery and the like." See Nelson's *Manual*, II, p. 38-42, on the Maravar.

their subversion by other kindred Dravidian tribes. Yet, considering the unstable nature of the Indian states, the continual disturbances and fighting which give to Indian history such an unpleasant and unsatisfactory appearance, there seems nothing peculiar in the claims advanced by those Pariahs, who are in reality the descendants of the original inhabitants. The Pariah calls himself to this day the elder brother of the Brahman, claiming in this manner precedence of the Brahman. The Brahmans on the other hand ascribe the origin of the Pariahs, Candālas, and other low castes to the connection of Brahman women with low caste men, or to the curse which sages, like Visvāmitra, were so fond of uttering against their own flesh and blood, or against any one who was unfortunate enough to come across them at an inauspicious moment. The legend of the curse of Visvāmitra's sons is interesting, as it ascribes to them the origin of some wild tribes like the Āndhras, Puṇḍras, Śāharas, and Pulindas.⁵⁰

The Pariahs have according to the *Nānaretti* eighteen titles like the Vellālar and possess also the same insignia.⁵¹

The chief goddess of the Pariahs is called *Āttāl* or *Ammāl*, mother, and represents *Parvatī* as mother of the earth, while

⁵⁰ The elder fifty of the hundred sons of *Visvāmitra* offended their father, and being cursed by him, became outcasts and the forefathers of all the wild tribes.

According to an old tradition, found in the *Purāṇas* and retold in the *Kulasaṅkhamāla* of Veṅkaṭācalaśāryar of Rāyapuram and in the Kanarese *Somāśarasataka*, Vasiṣṭha was the son of Urvāśī, the famous divine prostitute, and the husband of a Candāla woman of the Cakkali caste, who was in reality *Arundhati*, reborn as a Candāli. As such she bore him one hundred sons, ninety-six of whom disobeyed their father and reverted to the Pañcama (fifth) or Pariah caste, while the four others remained Brahmans — *Agastya* was, as already intimated on p. 24, n. 25, in this birth the brother of Vasiṣṭha.

⁵¹ Among these insignia are mentioned the following: white, earth-circle umbrellas, lion, swan, green and white, monkey (*Hanuman*), cuckoo, plough-handle, wheel and lion faced flags; a trumpet, closely carried torches (*aruḷu*) and day torches; victorious bells, two white chowries, white elephant; white horse, ivory palanquins; cuscus fan, flute; white petticoat, two poles with cloth across the street (*makaratarapa*), golden pot, &c.

as *Pidari* she resembles through her evil inclinations *Kali*. Different personifications of *Pārvati* and *Kali* are variously named, as *Vēlāttāl* (*Ēlāttāl*), *Nāgāttāl*, *Ēgāttāl*, *Cēmāttāl*, *Mariyāttāl* or *Mariyamman*, *Angūḷamman*, *Ellamman*, *Pūḷ-ganamman* (*Pungāttāl*), &c. Temples are found everywhere in South India, and she is generally the village goddess. *Māriyamman*, the goddess who inflicts and removes small-pox and other diseases, is found among the Ganda-Dravidians of the whole of India.

The feasts of these goddesses extend over a week and last occasionally sixteen days. During the whole of this time a Pariah is kept clothed and fed in the temple as the accepted bridegroom of the goddess. High across the streets festoons of *margosa* leaves are hung, and on the last day, while pots filled with water are carried by the people and the idol is taken in procession round the streets of the village, tom-toms are beaten in honor of the Pariah bridegroom, and after he has fasted and bathed, he gets a new cloth dyed with saffron, and the priest fastens a quarter anna piece to the right hand of the goddess and another to that of the Pariah. This ceremony is called *kāppu*, *κᾰῑῑ*.

The name *Vēlāttāl* is commonly explained as mother of *Subrahmanya*, from *Vēl* and *Āttāl*. *Nagāttāl* is regarded to signify the same from *Nāgan* (*Subrahmanya*) and *Āttāl*. Some Tamil scholars however do not favor this explanation. When revered in these forms *Parvati* or *Kanyakumārī* is regarded as a Pariah woman or *Mātangi*.

The Pariahs enjoy even now, in many places, privileges, the origin of which cannot be explained except by admitting the existence of substantial reasons, which have long been forgotten. A Pariah ties to this day the tali round the neck of *Ēgāttāl*, the tutelary goddess of Black Town in Madras. The Pariah, who acts as the bridegroom, arrives at the temple about ten days before the feast commences and is treated as described above. At *Perambūr*, near Madras, the same deity

is called *Cēmātlāl*, mother of safety. In Mysore a Holiya is generally the priest of the village goddess, and the Kulvādi or Parish headman of the village community is regarded as the real proprietor of the village. At Mēlkōta a Holiya presents to Celvapillai, or utsava-idol, which is thus called as it is carried in procession at the festival, a branch of the Cami or Vnhni tree to be used as an arrow for his bow at the hunting festival (*pāruēttai*), and while the idol is moving in procession, a Pariah huntsman lets a hare run across the road in front of the car that the god may shoot at it; this done, the idol returns in grand procession to the temple. The Pariah receives as a reward (*pāritōsham*) a garland, the flowers of which are distributed among the heads of the large conflux of Pariahs. This hunting festival is in Malayalam called *palliretta*, or royal hunt. It is just possible that *pāri* and *pallu* are identical words. The Holiyas pull the car at Mēlkōta and are not debarred from approaching it. They pull also the ropes of the cars at Kañcipuram, Kumbhakōnam, Śrīvalliputtar, and other places. In fact they do so wherever there are big temples. To obviate any unpleasantness arising on such occasions, it is laid down, as a rule, that the touch of Pariahs and outcastes who come to revere the deity does not pollute.

Dēvalāyasaṁpāsthān dēvasēvārtham āgatān

Candālān patitān vāpi spr̥ṣtvā na snānam ācarēt ⁸²

The Holiyas are permitted in Mēlkōta to enter the Tirunārāyana temple on three days of the year. The Brahmans ascribe this privilege to the circumstance that a poor but pious Pariah had observed that a cow approached every day a white ant's hole and let her milk drop into it. He searched and discovered that the image of Celvapillai was concealed in it. In consequence, the Pariah took compassion on the cow

⁸² One need not bathe if one touches Candālas or outcastes, who stand near the temple and have come to worship God.

and supplied her daily with fodder. The great Vaisnava reformer, Bhagvat Ramanujacarya, had at the same time been dreaming of this Celiapillu image, and the Pariah showed it to him. As a reward for this act of piety, Ramanujacarya allowed the Pariahs to enter the temple in future for three days of the year. Others say that this favor was granted because the Pariahs had protected him in their paraceti, when he was pursued. Very likely, the privilege is of older origin. A similar custom prevails in *Kadur*.⁵³

It is most peculiar that the origin of the famous Jagannātha temple is also closely connected with the low-caste Pariahs. A *Sarata* mountaineer, called *Bāsu*, worshipped in secret the blue stone image of Jagannātha, to obtain which the powerful king of Malva, Indradyumna, had despatched Brahmans to all quarters of the world. One of them penetrated at last into the wilderness where *Bāsu* lived. *Bāsu* detained the Brahman, made him marry his daughter, and led him after some time blindfolded to the place where the image of Jagannātha was lying concealed. The Brahman

⁵³ Compare "Archæological Notes" by M. J. Walhouse in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. III, 1874, p. 191. "It is well known that the servile castes in Southern India once held far higher positions and were indeed masters of the land on the arrival of the Brahmanical caste. Many curious vestiges of their ancient power still survive in the shape of certain privileges which are jealously cherished and their origin being forgotten, are much misunderstood. These privileges are remarkable instances of survivals from an extinct order of society—shadows of long-departed supremacy, bearing witness to a period when the present haughty high caste races were suppliants before the ancestors of degraded classes whose touch is now regarded as pollution. At Melkotta the chief seat of the followers of Pamanuja Acharya, and at the Brahman temple at Balar, the Ifoleyars or Pareyars have the right of entering the temple on three days in the year specially set apart for them. At the 'bull games' at Dindigul, in the Madura district which have some resemblance to Spanish bull fights and are very solemn celebrations, the Kallar, or robber caste can alone officiate as priests and consult the presiding deity. On this occasion they hold quite a Saturnalia of lordship and arrogance over the Brahmans. In the great festival of Śiva at Trivallur, in Tanjore the head man of the Pareyars is mounted on the elephant with the god, and carries his *chours*. In Madras, at the annual festival of the goddess of the Black Town, when a *tail* is tied round the neck of the idol in the

worshipped the god, and, after the lapse of some time, was able to communicate his discovery to the king. As the king was very proud of his power, the god Jagannatha, in order to punish his pride, did allow him to build the temple, but did not manifest himself personally to Indradyumna. This favor was granted him after prolonged delay, and it was only with the help of the Savara Bāsu that the image could finally be obtained and removed. Until very recently, pilgrims of all castes and outcastes frequented Puri and partook together of their meals, as the presence of Jagannatha is said to destroy all distinctions of caste, race, and faith, but now out-castes are no longer allowed to enter the sanctuary and to join in the eating of holy food, though the food prepared and sanctified at Puri can be eaten by Brahmans anywhere, even in the presence of the lowest people. The descendants of Bāsu are thus debarred from worshipping personally their own divinity.

Many Pariahs have attained high renown as poets and saints. Take for example, *Tiruvallura Nayanar*, the author

na is of the entire community a Pareyar is chosen to represent the bridegroom. In Madras, too, the mercantile caste and in Vizagapatam the Brahmans had to go through the form of asking the consent of the lowest castes to their marriages, though the custom has not died out." See Mr J D B Gribble's *Manual of Cuddapah* p 241.

See *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages* by Bishop Caldwell, second edition p 548. "Thus at the annual festival of Egattal the only mother—a form of Kali and the tutelary goddess of the 'Black Town' of Madras—when a *tilis* or bridal necklace (answering to our wedding ring), was tied round the neck of the idol in the name of the entire community, a Pareiya used to be chosen to represent the people as the goddess bridegroom."

I am indebted to the Rev H Jensen of the Danish Lutheran Mission for my statement concerning the continuation of the service of a Pariah at the Egattal temple in Black Town.

Major J S F Mackenzie has contributed on p 36 of volume VIII of the *Indian Antiquary* an article on the "Customs of the Comti Caste." Most of the statements that note contains I have repeatedly heard in Madras and I myself possess some documents confirming them. I quote this subject here merely as it ought not to be entirely omitted and as it affords strong evidence of the great influence and authority once enjoyed by the now despised Pariahs—an influence which apparently is exercised even at the present time.

of the Kural and his so called sister, the famous poetess, *Ariai*, the Vaisnava Alvar *Tirupan*, the author of the work beginning with *Amalan Adipiran*, who was brought up by Pariahs, and the Saiva saint *Nandan*, who was a Pariah. A Kurumba robber, *Tirumangu Mannan*, became afterwards a celebrated Vaisnava Alvar.

These and many other instances can be adduced to prove the once flourishing condition of the now despised lowest classes.

WRONG DERIVATION OF THE TERM HOLFYA AND PULAYA.

The Telugu Pariahs are called *Mālavandlu*, its corresponding term in Tamil *Malar* is often used in the sense of Pulaiyar and equivalent to Paraiyar. The word *Mala*, in the sense of mountaineer or barbarian, occurs in Sanskrit. As the word *holeya* is derived from *hole*, ಹೊಲೆ, pollution, and the South-Indian *Pulayan* from *pula*, ಪುಲ, pollution, so also is *Malaya* occasionally derived from the Sanskrit *mala*, taint. All these derivations rest on no substantial philological grounds. They have been suggested by the accidental resemblance existing between the Sanskrit words *mala*, taint, and *pala*, flesh, and the Dravidian *pula* (*hole*), pollution, and their derivatives on the one side and the names of the *Mallas* or *Pallas* on the other side, and are used to revile and as an excuse for despising the low defenceless and ill-treated population.²¹

This tendency to revile strangers, enemies or slaves is, however, not confined to any particular country. The *Tatars*, when they first invaded Europe, were called *Tartars*, because they were supposed to have come from *Tartarus* or hell.

I further believe that all such Sanskrit words as *malla*, *malla*, *mala*, *palla*, &c., which are connected with the name

²¹ Mr. Lewis Rice in his *Mysore and Coorg* vol. I p. 312 ventres another derivation—the *Holeyar* whose name may be derived from *hole* a field.

of the Mallas and Pallas, to have been introduced into that language from Dravidian.

CASTE DISTINCTIONS AMONG PARIAHS; RIGHT AND LEFT HAND CASTES

The Pariah caste is divided into 18 classes⁵⁵ like the Vellalar, as has been already intimated. The first class of the Pariahs is called the Valluvapparai. The highest caste of the Pulayar in Cochin also bears the name of Valluva. One great cause that keeps the Pariahs and the Pallar apart, or that prevents them from being on friendly terms with each other, is the fact that they take different sides in the great question of *right-hand* and *left-hand* castes.

The reference to this distinction necessitates some remarks. The cause of the division into *right-hand* and *left-hand* castes, and the time when this difference arose, are both unknown, though weighty reasons can be adduced against assigning to it a very early period. The legendary reports abound with suspicious details which militate against their trustworthiness. The contest seems to have been both national and religious.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Dr Winslow enumerates in his *Tamil-English Dictionary* the following classes among the Pariahs: The Valluvapparai, Tatapparai, Tankalamparai, Turcalipparai, Kulipparai, Tippalai, Muracapparai, Mottapparai, Ampnapparai, Vattukapparai, Aliyapparai, Kōhyapparai, Velupparai, Vēṭṭiyarpparai, Caṅkupparai. Compare Mr J H Nelson's *Manual of Madras*, III, pp 75-79. Mr W F Sinclair says in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol III, p 130: "The *Parivaris* should not by rights be called outcastes, seeing that they have caste of their own, obey its rules, and squabble among themselves for precedence with a pertinacity worthy of ambassadors."

⁵⁶ In the edition of a portion of the *Kurāl* which was published together with an English translation and valuable notes by one of the earliest and best European Tamil Scholars, the late Mr T. W. Ellis, of the Madras Civil Service, is found on page 44 the following passage: "Intercourse with foreign nations, the extension of commerce, and other circumstances have in latter times materially altered the manners of the olden time and infringed the privileges of the landed proprietors, but they have not been able to prevent a lively tradition of them remaining and this has given origin to the discussions between the factions denominated *Vatung-cayyar* and *Idung-cayyar*,"

The five classes of artisans—the carpenters, goldsmiths, blacksmiths, braziers, and masons, well known in Southern India as *Pañcālar* or *Kammālar*—regard themselves as the real Brahmans and, as the descendants of the divine artificer *Viśvakarma*, call themselves *Viśva Brahmans*. They assume the title of *Ācārya*, wear the holy thread, and claim the right to perform religious ceremonies among themselves, especially at marriages. They further declare that there were originally five *Vēdas*, but that *Vēda Vyāsa*, in order to curtail their privileges, suppressed the fifth and arranged the other four in such a manner as suited Vyāsa and the false Brahmans whom he headed; that he tried to win the reigning king over to his side, and, when he did not succeed, that he instigated the king's murder and placed an illegitimate son on the throne, who conferred on Vyāsa the dignity of priest of the royal family. According to one version Vyāsa induced the king to issue a proclamation, enacting that all those who sided with the king should be styled right-hand caste men, and all those who opposed him left-hand caste men. Another tradition asserts that Vyāsa's right hand was cut off by a bigoted Śaiva, who heard Vyāsa swear with his uplifted right hand that Viṣṇu was superior to Śiva and that he had never in his *Purānas* opposed Viṣṇu.⁵⁷ Others transfer these

or, as commonly though improperly called, *the right and left hand castes*; the former including the whole of the agricultural tribes, who endeavour, under a different order of things, to maintain their ancient pre-eminence; the latter, including chiefly the trading and manufacturing tribes, who endeavour, and in modern days generally with success, to evade it."—According to the late Dr. Burnell (see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. II, (1873), p. 274): "The distinction arises primarily from the landowners and their serfs being the heads of one class, and the Brahmans, artisans, and other interlopers forming the other. But the constituent castes of either party vary." The *Pañcālas* or *Kammālar* are known in Tamil by the title of *Ādri Ēṇṇādi*.

So far as I am informed, and as I have stated above, the Brahmans are not included in either faction, though some late mention them as partisans.

⁵⁷ Compare the *Decision of the Cistār Jilā Court* (சென்னை ஜில்லா கோர்ட்டின் தீர்மானம்) printed at Cistār, 1881, on these discussions. An account

events to Kaññipuram, and declare that, when the two opposed parties brought their complaints before the Pallava king reigning over the Cola country, the Kammalar, Beri Celties and their friends were sitting on the left hand of the king and the Vellalar and their adherents on the right hand. The left-hand side is regarded by the Kammalar as the place of honor

is given on page 29 of the circumstances in which Vyasa lost his hand. His opponent is in this Citar Decision described as విరముష్టిదైవ అకశ. *Viramusti* means a Vira Śaiva or Jaṅgama, who precedes a procession, holding a shield and brandishing a sword. He is also called *Vraabhasvara*. The *Skandapurāṇa* contains also the story about the cutting off of Vyasa's arm. Captain J. S. T. Mackenzie connects the *Vyasana-tilu Kallu* (Vyasa's armstone) found in Mysore with this event. Compare *Indian Antiquary*, vol II, (1873), p. 49.

As the Pāñcālār claim the privilege of being their own priests and the Brahmins oppose this claim, many disputes and even serious disturbances of the public peace have ensued. Such was the case, *eg.*, at Citar in 1817. Through the kindness of the present Judge at Citar, Mr. Crole, I have obtained a copy of the judgment from which I give the following extracts.

After mentioning the names of the plaintiffs and the ex defendants it begins "1 This suit was brought against the defendants by the plaintiffs to recover Rs 530½ damages on account of the defendants having prevented the plaintiffs from celebrating a marriage in their family.

"The record consists of the plaint, three answers, one reply and two rejoinders. 2 The plaintiffs in this suit call themselves Kammalāra, the descendants of five Brahmas. The Kammalāra follow five crafts, namely, that of carpenter, blacksmith, goldsmith, mason and brass smith. 3 The plaintiffs state that they and their tribe have been accustomed and that they consider themselves entitled, and have resolved, to conduct their own marriages, and other domestic and religious ceremonies without the interference of the Brahmins, to which tribe the defendants belong. The plaintiffs maintain that one of their own tribe is their *Guru*, and performs their religious rites, and that they will not attend to, nor employ, a Brahmin therein, and they state their confidence that no Court of Justice can give the defendants or Brahmins liberty to enter their houses by force to officiate at their ceremonies, moreover, they state that they are neither of the Vaiśya nor Sudra tribes, but are descendants of Brahma and that therefore they do not require Brahmins to officiate for them. That moreover they, the plaintiffs are *Deva*, or divine Brahmins, and that the defendants are *Go* or cow Brahmins who were originally Sudras, and by certain penance and ceremonies obtained Brahminism, and that they, the plaintiffs, can prove their right from the Veda, Smṛiti and *Vasisthaspurāṇam* and the *Silpa Sastram*. 4 The principal defendants, namely, the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th maintain that they are Brahmins of the Siva Bhakti and have a right to perform the ceremonies

The charge of having suppressed the fifth Vēda is very extraordinary indeed, especially if one considers that the original number of the Vēdas is indicated by the name *Trayī*, or Trinity, representing the Rg, Yajur and Sāma Vēdas, and that the fourth or Atharvaveda is generally ascribed to a later period. The existence and destruction of a fifth Vēda, assuming such a work to have ever existed, must therefore be assigned to a comparatively late or modern time.

and religious rites of the plaintiffs who they state to be Sankarnas, or outcastes of the Sudra tribe. The defendants in consequence deny that the plaintiffs could ever become Brahmans, though they were born again ever so many times. Moreover that if the plaintiffs think proper to perform the marriage and other ceremonies using forms of prayers taken from the Vēda they will not only be liable to suffer a great punishment in their next birth, but to be punished criminally by the executors of the law appointed by Government who they state would never suffer the plaintiffs to perform any ceremonies contrary to the law of their sect, to ascertain which the defendants request that the opinion of the law officer of the Court may be taken on the subject. 5 The above is the sum of the difference between the parties. . 9 The evidence in this case is very long and contradictory, but the Court has no doubt from a consideration thereof but that the defendants did actually, seriously and violently molest the plaintiffs in the celebration of a marriage which the plaintiffs were celebrating though they (the defendants) did not actually prevent it, as the marriage took place notwithstanding their interference though not without the plaintiffs meeting with much obstruction from the defendants. 10 It is a notorious fact which the plaintiffs' witnesses have deposed to, that the plaintiffs and persons of the Kammar caste (like Kammadiyar, Satanis and Jainas) do frequently celebrate their religious festivals without calling in the Brahmans of any other sect to aid them in the performance of any part thereof. The plaintiffs have declared that they admit those marriages only to be perfectly regular, which are celebrated by Gurus of their own appointment. They do not admit the superiority of any other tribe to themselves. These opinions they state to be according to the Hindu Śāstra, but it is a point and a right, which it is well known the Śiva and Vāishna Brahmans do not admit, and therefore it has not been considered necessary to consult on this subject the pundits of the Courts, no more than if it were a question of law regarding a religious difference between any other sect and the Brahmans, on which they never would agree. If the plaintiffs, who deny the superiority of the defendants as Brahmans do in their tribe choose to follow or relinquish any ancient custom or to establish any new ceremony which is not contrary to honesty, decorum and the peace of the country, neither the defendants nor any other persons have any right to interfere, nor would the officers of Government

The division of the population into right hand and left-hand castes occurred most likely simultaneously with the religious agitation which introduced into Southern India the now prevailing Brahmanical supremacy. The imminent decay of the Jaina power opened a fair prospect to the Brahmins of which they were not slow to take advantage. They gathered round them their followers, while their opponents, who represented in certain respects the national party, did the same. This movement seems to have been originally

ever interfere if it should not appear to be necessary for the peace of the country. It appears that marriages celebrated by Gurus of the plaintiffs own sect have been for a long period at least admitted by a very great body (if not perhaps by the whole) of them and at all events are now by them acknowledged to be good and proper and valid, and according to *their* interpretation of the *Sastra* perfectly conformable thereto. No other sects therefore have any right to interfere especially a sect (namely that of the defendants or Smarta Brahmins) which the plaintiffs do not acknowledge to be superior to them for the plaintiffs rejection of them (the defendants the Smarta Brahmins) as their spiritual guides or Gurus is what the defendants themselves acknowledge that any Hindu is at liberty to do. Thousands among themselves (the Smarta Brahmins) have of late years left them and from being Siva bhaktars have become Vishnu bhaktars, and have consequently chosen the Gurus of another sect to be their Gurus. Had the plaintiffs introduced ever so many innovations into their ceremonies (which they do not appear to have done) as they do not admit that the defendants have any more concern with them (the plaintiffs) than they (the plaintiffs) have with the defendants (Brahmins) the latter had no business to go near them on the occasion of the celebration of their marriage. They (the defendants) have no right to force themselves as Purohitas upon any tribe who do not acknowledge them as their superiors and Purohitas. In the opinion of the Courts the plaintiffs were and are fully entitled to perform (the marriage in question or any other) their religious ceremonies in such a manner as the tribe to which they belong may from time to time establish to be the rule and form of their caste and it is so decreed accordingly. Given under my hand and the seal of the Court this twenty eighth day of June in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty

(Signed) JOSEPH DACE

Judge

In 1843 a similar case was tried in Salem before a Brahman V Krishna namacharyulu. A Pāṇḍita Rāmalingachari for claiming certain rights had been insulted and severely beaten by some persons and his sacred thread had also been torn to pieces. The defendants pleaded that Rāmalingachari as belonging to the Goldsmith caste (or *Kanshalayath* in Telugu) had no right to study the Veda and to undertake any *Prayascitta*, or any other religious cere-

confined to Southern India, its centre being at Kañcipuram, the seat of so many religious and political dissensions, where there are to this day special halls for both parties, called Valankai-mantapams and Itankai-mantapams.³⁶ As the Pallar and the Pariahs belong to different hands and the Valluvar are the priests of both, the division into right-hand and left-hand castes must very probably have taken place after the Valluvar had obtained this position. At the time of *Bhagavat Rāmānujācārya* this division into right-hand and left-hand castes was already an acknowledged institution, as different hours were assigned to right and left hand people for entering the Celvapillai temple at *Mēlkōta*, which place is also called *Patitaparanakṣēta*, i.e., the field where even out-castes can be purified. The influence of the Jainas was perhaps strongest in towns where the artisan classes form an important and powerful portion of the population, while the Brahmans appealed to the land-owning and agricultural classes, whom they won over by entreaties or by threats. The Brahmans have not joined and strictly speaking do not belong to either side, but their interests lie mainly with the right side. As in various localities the same castes have embraced different sides, it is difficult to assign to all a permanent position. Yet, on the whole, the principal parties on both sides are always the same³⁷

mony, whose performance is a privilege of the Brahmans, and that the Kam-salajati ranked according to the *Dharmasāstra* among the *Gramacandālas*. The Court concurred in this view and the case was dismissed, Rāmalingācārya paying costs. See *Silam Jilā Tirmānuru*, Madras, 1836.

³⁶ On p 326 of the *Jātisangrahaśāstra* (in Tamil *ஐயத்தொகை*) is mentioned a copperplate order or *Tamrasūcanam* which confirms the position of the Vanniyar, they held at Kañci during the reign of *Sukhalakṣya* in the 762nd year of *Śalivāhana Śaka*, but, though it is stated there, that this *Sūcanam* is still preserved, no one seems ever to have seen it.

³⁷ The quarrels and actual fights which occurred between these hostile parties have given rise to much litigation before Magistrates and Judges, especially in the Chingleput and North-Arcot districts. The judgment of George Coleman, Judge and Magistrate of Chingleput, dated the 25th July

This dissension must have seriously affected, for some time at least, the agricultural, mechanical, and commercial interests of the country, for, as both parties were stubborn, a great deal of inconvenience must have been felt, till each party was able to supply its own wants. The right-hand side had in these circumstances to seek a fresh supply of artisans until the necessary knowledge was acquired by men in its own ranks. Some who joined it were perhaps deserters from

1809, specifies the different people of both hands, gives their emblems, flags and instruments, and fixes certain privileges.

I have applied to the Court and gone to Chingleput with the express purpose to obtain a copy of this important judgment from the District Court, but it could not be found among the records, though many decisions of less consequence and of earlier years are still extant.

However, through the exertions of Mr A. Krishnaswamy Iyer, B.A., an official of the Accountant General's Office, and a much esteemed former pupil of mine, I have been able to secure a Tamil manuscript copy of the judgment. On the right hand are enumerated the *Vēḷḷalar* and *Kararaiḷaḷ* with the following insignia: white umbrella, white flag, curved fan, chowry, arakuṭṭiṭṭu, plough, plough flag, monkey-flag, cuckoo-flag, parrot flag, bell, conch, wheel stick, big-drum, green, blue lotus garland, *Āṭṭu* flag, *Tavantai*, trumpet, 2, *Vatuka Vēḷḷalar* (Northern or Telugu Vēḷḷalar) with awan flag, 3, *Reddiḷaḷ* with plough flag, 4, *Kammataruḷaḷ* (agricultural labourers) with hull flag, 5, *Kontalararkal* with chakora flag, 6, *Nattamēn* with *Āḷi* flag, 7, *Malaiyaman* with *Aṟṟala* or *Śrīṟala* flag, 8, *Komattikaḷ* (merchants) with cotton-flag, *Maṭaratoranam* drum, *Vimamayir*, *Itimuracu*, 9, *Ḥaiyar* (shepherds) with wheel, 10, *Vatula Ḥaiyar* (Telugu shepherds) with conch, 11, *Kannitaiyar* (Kannarese shepherds), with tent, five-coloured flag, 12, *Patmacaliyar* (weavers) with tiger vehicle, male tiger flag, 13, *Paṭṭucaliyar* (silk weavers) with two headed bird flag, 14, *Vaṣṭukacēniyar* (northern weavers) with jasmine flag, *Nakapācam*, five coloured flag, 15, *Janṭaraiyar* (Telugu weavers) with crocodile, 16, *Kaṇṇaiyā Cēniyar* (Kannarese weavers) with wild jasmine garland, big eagle flag, *Vicurutantai*, 17, *Paṭṭunūḷḷarar* (silk thread weavers) with silk flag, 18, *Geṣar* (weavers) with tortoise flag, and *Kolūci* flag, 19, *Cēḷḷuvaiyar* (oil-press mongers) with ceḍaiceṭṭi (ceṣṭu toṭṭu), eḷḷuṟcē, sesamum leaf garland, garuḍa-flag, drum, 20, *Ḥaivedaiyar* (leaf oil mongers) with kovaḷ garland, drum, cuckoo flag, 21, *Onṣi erutu cānniyar* (one budlock oil mongers) with fire coloured parrot flag, 22, *Janappar* (hemp dressers) with chowry flag, 23, *Mucēiyar* (painters, &c.) with makara flag, 24, *Kāṇciyar* (brassers) with Poti flag, 25, *Vēḷḷalarar* (basketmakers) with Cikkiri flag, wooden-legged horse, sword flag, 26, *Narī cōḷiyar* (fox-beggars) with dog flag, 27, *Tamīl Kuṭṭavar* (potters), *Vaṣṭuka Kuṭṭarar* (Telugu potters), *Kuṭṭa Kanallār*, 28, *Mēḷḷaḷḷarar* (floaters) with drum flag, 29, *Nattavar* (dancing masters) with cymbal flag, 30, *Dēḷḷakal*

the hostile camp, while others were outsiders, Muhammadan artisans, for instance, who were allowed to earn their living in the Hindu community by following their profession

The fifth caste formed of outcastes is in consequence of this dissension divided into two great hostile camps, on the right side are ranged the Pariahs, and on the left side the Cakkilis or leather-workers. It appears that there prevails in some parts of the South the peculiar phrase "the Pariahs

(dancing girls) with Manmatha flag 31, *Cāndr* and *Ilar* (toddy drawers) with kurnāci flag knife and ladder, 32, *Kavara* (mountaineers foresters, snake catchers basketmakers, salt sellers) with donkey flag, 33 *Cullār cēṣṣi laupdikāl* (salt-sellers) with picturesque flag, 34 *Vēṣṣāḥḥār* (hunters) with sling flag 35 *Pāṣṣanacar* (?) with tortoise flag, 36 *Karaiyar* (sea-coastmen) with fish flag 37, *Oṭṭar* (rodd makers and tank-diggers from Orissa) with spade flag 38 *Upparacar* (common tank diggers) with pig flag, 39, *Pēyi* (bearers) with palanquin flag 40 *Paṇiceyvōrkāl* (?) (menial servants?) with *Tārai* (trumpet) flag 41, *Tamīl Paṇḍr* and *Pajuka Paṇḍr* (Tamil and Telugu washermen) with curved knife, lotus garland and white elephant, 42, *Tamīl Aḍitar* (Tamil barbers) with tumpai garland, animal with human face, 43, *Pajuka Aḍitar* (Telugu barbers) with *nākasaram* (musical instrument), 44 *Tompuracar* (ropo dancers) with Ketai flag 45, *Adriyammaṇ Pūdrilāl* (Māriyammaṇ priests) with small drum flag, 46, *Pūdrilāl* with hollow brass ring flag 47 *Iruler* (wild foresters) with iron bar flag, 48, *Aṟippukḥār Kavara* (Kavara weavers) with lotus flag, 49, *Pajuka Paṇḍram* (northern mendicants) with bottle axe flag 50 *Paṇḍr* (?) with pearl flag 51, *Kuṭṭukuppaṣṣāḥḥār* (soothsaying beggars) with shkti flag, 52, *Endi* (forestmen) with hare flag, 53 *Kāḍṭukār* (lascars) with cart flag 54, *Velikkarumḍr* (excommunicated blacksmiths) with bellows and hammer flag 55 *Velikāl taccar* (excommunicated carpenters) with chisel flag 56, *Kāppal taccar* (ship carpenters) with adze flag 57, *Kāppal eṣṭukar* (Telugu sailors) with ship flag 58 *Panjar* (bards) with sword flag

The people and ensigns of the fifth class are 1, *Paruniyar* or *Palanikāl* (processionists) with damara (drum) flag, 2 *Vallurar*, *Vāḍṭṭiṣṭr* and *Vēṣṣiṣṭr* (mahant), *Para yer* and *Panteparaier* with white umbrellas white chowry, white flag conch vajra stick, trumpet (tamukku) drum (tappaṭṭai) paṇka (trumpet), intīari (short trumpet) big intīari, paṇaiya music, five pots and white makara (alligator) festoons

The *Left Hand* musters 1, *Pēri Cēṣṣikāl* (*Pēri* merchants) with kite flag, 2 *Vāṭara Pāṇiyar* (town oil mongers) with *tantu* garland and garland of pine gems 3 *Kāḍṭikāl* (weavers) with *tiruvāṟupattiram*, *aḍakkam* lance, male vulture lion flag bear flag deer flag peacock flag cuckoo flag drum 4 *Kāṇḍiṭṭar* (artisans) (This class is composed of the *Tēṣṣār* (goldsmiths) *Kāṇḍr* (brazers) *Cūper* (masons) *Kollār* (blacksmiths) and *Taccar* (car

also the honorific title of *Valaṅkamattār* or *Valaṅkulattār* and claim in consequence precedence over the left-hand *Pallar*.

The Tamil Cakkili, the Telugu and Kanarese Mādiga, and the Marātha *Māṅg* all do belong to the same caste. Their occupation is mostly connected with leather and rope making. The enmity between the common Pariahs and these people is very acrimonious as it concerns precedence; and a *Māṅg*, who as ropemaker is generally also the hangman, is said to regard as his proudest and most meritorious action the hanging of a Mahār or Marātha Pariah. Nevertheless, the Pariahs and the Cakkilis, when not actually engaged in hostilities, acknowledge each other in a friendly manner as brothers-in-law. In his *Madura Manual* (II, p 7) Mr Nelson mentions the curious fact that in Madura the Cakkili women belong to the right-hand and their husbands to the left-hand.

The words *Māṅg* and *Mādiga* are corruptions of *Mātāṅga*.

The division of the *Śakti* worshippers or *Śāktas* in Dakṣiṇācāris and Vāmācāris has nothing in common with the right or left hand castes. This difference concerns merely the pūjā, inasmuch as the *dakṣiṇācāra*, the right observance, allows only milk, fruit, cakes made of blackgram, and other sweetmeats and sweet drinks, while the *vāmācāra*, the left or adverse observance, permits, besides the mentioned eatables and drinks, meat and liquors also.

THE VALLUVAR.

The oppression which the Pariahs and Pallar have suffered has not drawn them closer together, but yet these two classes have their priesthood in common. These priests are called Valluvar, and their name has become renowned by *Tira Valluva Nāyaṇār*, the author of the famous Tamil work the *Kural* (குறள்). It is evident from this appellation itself, that *Tiruvalluva Nayanār* is not the real name of this

celebrated man, but only his title.⁶¹ This poet, who was born and died at Mailapur, a suburb of Madras, showed in his writings a knowledge of, and a tendency towards Jainism; and though some deny the fact of his having been a Jain, other Valluvār admit it: at all events the title Nayanār may be taken in favor of such an assumption, as it is used by the Jains as an honorific appellation. The word means *lord* and *devotee*, and is probably a contracted form of the Tamil honorific term *Nayakanār*, from which the syllable *ka* has been dropped. *Nāyaka*, a leader, especially a leader of troops, i.e., a general, is derived from the Sanskrit *nī*, to lead. This word becomes in Tamil *Nāyakan* (Naiḱ), in Telugu *Nāyadu* (Naidu), and in Malayālam *Nāyar* (Nair), and is used as a title by many Hindus in Southern India; it is adopted in the

⁶¹ The accounts given about *Tiruvalluvar Nayanār* are very obscure. One fact alone is clear that he belonged to one of the lowest classes of the population, but that the highest classes could not ignore his talents, and to save their superiority connected his birth with the Brahman caste. Another important item of information is that other celebrated Tamil poets as *Kapilar* and *Aerasi* are also brought into intimate contact with the same lower classes. The legend given below makes *Kapilar*, *Avvai* and *Tiruvalluvar Nayanār*, brothers and sister, though it is manifest that they did not all live and compose their works at the same time, still the connection of all with one another and with the Pariahs and Pulayars is very peculiar indeed.

Brahma performed, according to the legend, a sacrifice for the explanation of the Sanskrit and Tamil languages and *Agastya* arose from it out of a pot. The sage married the daughter of the Ocean, and had from her a son *Peruṇḍraṅkan*. His son married at Tiruvālār a Palaiyan woman or *Palaicei*, and their offspring was *Bhagavan* (பகவன்). About this time there lived *Tavamuni*, a scion of the Brahmanavatsa, who had married a Brahman woman *Aruṇmaṅkai*. They had a daughter, but left her behind to perform a sacrifice at the Virali mountain. A Pariah of Uraiyār found the girl, and brought her up, until there fell a downpour of earth which killed all the inhabitants in the neighbourhood except the girl, who took refuge in the house of one *Nityappan* at Melorakaram. On his way to Benares the young *Bhagavan* stopped at the choultry near Melorakaram, when the girl passed. He asked her whether she was a *Palaicei* or *Valaicei*, and beat her with a wooden ladle on her head, so that it bled, and the wound left eventually a scar. On his return from Benares the pilgrim stopped at the same inn and again saw the young girl, who had since become very beautiful, at the house of *Nityappan*, but he did not recognise her and asked her foster-father to give him his

in the marriage ceremonial, the meaning of which he probably does not know. Considering how jealous the Brahman priests are of keeping secret their sacred verses, it is very strange indeed that the Valluvar knows and uses some of them. This knowledge must have been acquired long ago, perhaps at a time when friendly relations still existed between the Brahman settlers and the original population.

He is most probably the representative of the ruling class of ancient times, and his name can still be easily discerned, as it is preserved in historical records and geographical accounts. I need only mention the *Valluvalōn*, of Valluvanādu, the king of the Valluvar, who presided at the great assembly of Kēralam, when a new Perumal was chosen every twelfth year to rule over the whole of Malayālam. I pointed out some years ago the connection which exists between the Valluvar and Pallavas and shall recur to this question later on.

All this splendour of the Valluvan has departed and he is now known only as the priest of the Pariahs and Pallar. He occupies the highest position among the Pariahs, while his name connects him with the Pallar, and among the kindred of the latter, i.e., among the Pulayar of Cochin, the Valluvar still rank highest. We may perhaps be justified in regarding him as representing a link between the first and second Dravidian stage.

This suggestion will naturally be repudiated by the Valluvar, for they regard themselves as much superior to the people committed to their spiritual charge.

To accept the assertions of every individual Hindū would be to admit a separate creation for each tribe, sect, trade, profession, and calling. The pride of caste, even among the lowest in the country, the tendency towards exclusiveness, and the firm belief in individual superiority combined with a strong spirit of conservatism, divide the Indian population into innumerable sections. And as if the existing

distinctions did not suffice, new conditions and new complications are continually giving rise to new variations and combinations in Hindu society. Thus among the Vellalar, such new castes have lately arisen, and, if I am not mistaken, some promoters of the widow-remarriages movement advocate the establishment of a new caste, composed of those who have married widows and of the offspring of such marriages.

CHAPTER V.

ON THE PALLAR, PALLAVAS, PULAYAR, BALLAS (BHALLAS),
BHĪLS, PULINDAS, &c.

What was originally an accidental discrepancy in the pronunciation of the names of the Mallas or Pallas, though immaterial in itself, has produced occasionally in the course of time a real difference. It may perhaps be assumed, either that those who had descended from the mountains to the plains preferred to be called Pallas, because the Dravidian word *pallam* signifies *depth* or *low country*, or that they imparted this meaning to the term *pallam*, unless the vocal similarity between *Pallan*, a Palla, and *pallam*, low country, is regarded as an accidental freak of language.

In these circumstances one may be justified in distinguishing in certain localities, between the Mallas and Pallas as between Highlanders and Lowlanders, whilst we may find elsewhere Mallas living in the plains and Pallas on the mountains. After a prolonged residence of the descendants of the Highlanders in the plains and of the Lowlanders in the mountains, both might re-adjust their names to the actual places they are occupying, and call themselves, respectively, Mallar and Pallar.

The Pallas appear in Sanskrit literature as *Pallavas*, *Pahlaras*, *Pahnaras*, *Palhara* and *Plaras*.

The formation of the word *Pallava*⁶³ can be explained in different ways. It may have been derived from the word *Palla* which, being combined with the pronominal affix *an*, formed the honorific term *Pallavan*, and eventually dropped the final *n*; or, if of Sanskrit origin, the affix *ra* may either have been added to *Palla*, or the Taddhita affix *a* to the term *Paṣṭu*, which denotes the Pallar caste as an aggregate. In the latter case *Pallara* would have been formed from *Pallu* and ought to have been *Pāllara*, but according to Pānini V, 2, 127 (*arā ādibhyo'e*) Vṛddhi or long *a* is not necessary.

The omission of one *l* and the insertion in its place of an *h* requires a few remarks in order to connect *Palhara*, *Pahlara* and *Puhnara* with *Palla*, which was no doubt the original Dravidian form with which the Aryans became first acquainted.

Before a language reaches the literary stage, dialectical differences excepted, only one form of speech does generally prevail, which is the language in common use, the popular or *Prākṛit* idiom. In course of time, with the growth of literature, the language, or rather the literary speech, becomes more and more settled and stationary, and certain formations, owing to their having been preferred by poets and other authors, are widely adopted and supersede those previously used. The refined or *Sanskṛit* language must have originated in some such manner. Its very existence presupposes the *Prākṛit*, as the original *Prākṛit* must be older than the later *Sanskṛit*. The so-called *Prākṛit* forms, which are found, e g, in the Vedic literature, should not for this reason be regarded as belonging to a later period, simply because they belong to *Prākṛit*, as they may even represent

⁶³ The *Jātisāhgrahaśāstra* on p. 171 says that *Pallavan* is derived from *Paravāṇ*, one who has got the strength of body, that *para* was dropped in course of time, *l* changed into *P*, and *van* added.

the older Prakrit phrase⁶¹ While Prakrit is indefinite, Sanskrit is definite and becomes in consequence ossified and unchangeable. Eventually it loses its hold on the people, but remains the linguistic standard of the educated and the dialect of the learned. It supplies in its turn the material for a modern Prakrit, which may likewise contain some relics of the original Prakrit, but from which, as prior to Sanskrit, it must be distinguished.

Applying these remarks to the special subject before us, it is not at all impossible that, as the Gaudian *Kanda* has been changed in Sanskrit into *Khanda*, similarly the original Dravidian and ancient Prakrit word *Palla* has been already at an early date altered and become *Palha* and *Pahla*, which three different terms were then in use at one and the same time. Sanskrit prefers on the whole a form whose pronunciation is more difficult than what satisfies the Dravidian languages. Some of these changes may have been made for reasons of which we are now ignorant. In support of my supposition that *Palha* or *Pahla* is a modification of *Palla*, I contend that a similar connection does apparently exist between the names *Kalhana* or *Kahlana* and *Kalla*; between *Balhana*, *Balhi*, *Balthika*, *Balhika*, *Bāthi*, &c, or *Bahlana*, *Bahlh*, *Bahlkhā*, *Bahlhika*, *Bāhlh*, &c, and *Balla*; between *Bilhana* (*Vilhana*) or *Bihlana* (*Vihlana*) and *Billa*, (*Villa*), between *Mathana* or *Mahlana* and *Malla*; between *Silhana* or *Shilhana* and *Silla*; and between *Sulhana*, *Sahlana* or *Sullana* and an original *Sulla*. The names ending in *n* like *Balhana*, *Kalhana*, *Mathana* and *Sulhana* have some resemblance with those Dravidian names ending in *anna*, as *Rāghanna*, *Naganna*, &c. Of the change of double *l* into *lh*, the change of *Mallāri* into *Malhāri* in Marathi affords an example.

⁶¹ For instance compare *krikaldsa* with *krikaddiu*, *purōddia* with *purōdīa*, *kpudraka* with *kpudraka* and *bhallākga* with *bhadralga*, in Professor A. Weber's *Indische Studien*, II, p. 87, note

The introduction of an *h* into words in which it originally found no place has already been commented upon when discussing on p 61 the origin of the names *Mhār* and *Bhār* from *Mar* and *Bār*.

The practical result of this inquiry is the establishment of the Indian equivalente *Pahlava*, *Palhava* and *Plava* for *Pallava* and *Palla*, and the conclusion that the names of such peoples, where they occur in the *Mahābharata*, *Rāmāyana*, and other ancient Sanskrit works, refer, in most cases, to Indian tribes and not to nations beyond the frontiers of India, *e g*, to the Persian *Pahlaras*. This assumption does not dispute the fact that relationship existed between Non-Aryan races dwelling on both sides of the Indian frontier.

The Pallar, as well as the Pallis, claim to be connected with the Pallavas. The Pallavarajas were in early times already rulers in this country. Some rajas, *e g*., those of the Śamhhugōtra in the North near Rājamandry still affect the title of Pallavaraja and worship at their marriages the fire and the *rahni*-tree, a twig of which, as we have mentioned above, is used as an arrow at the hunting festival (*Pārvēttai*) on the Vijayadasami during the Navarātri or Dasara feast⁶⁵

In accordance with the interchange between *v* and *m* which has been previously pointed out, the word *Pallara* can be easily recognized in the more modern *Vellama*, *Vellamba*, *Bhullama*, *Yellama* and *Ellama*. The connection between Valluva and Pallava has already been mentioned.

The majority of the Pallar now-a-days occupy the plains, but they have even there retained their innate predilection for the woods and mountains. Wherever possible, they erect their shrines in forests and on hills, and their marriages also take place in such localities. A pandal or wooden shed is there constructed to celebrate them. Before the marriage

⁶⁵ Read *The Pallaras* by the learned Rev Thomas Foulkes and see p 53

is actually performed, the bridegroom suddenly leaves his house and starts for some distant place, as if he has suddenly abandoned his intention of marrying, in spite of the preparations that have been made for the wedding. His intended father-in-law intercepts the young man on his way and persuades him to return, promising to give him his daughter as a wife, to this the bridegroom consents.⁶⁶ The marriage ceremony is then proceeded with the Val-lura priest shows the *Tali* or marriage necklace to the assembled guests, pronounces the necessary prayers and mantrams, and hands the *Tali* to the bridegroom, who ties it round the neck of his bride. It is highly probable that the Pallar adopted a part of their marriage rites, especially those resembling the Kasiyatra, from the Brahmans. The marriage of the Pallar can be dissolved on either side, the husband divorces his wife by breaking the *Tali*, and the woman can remarry. Should a wife run away from her husband, she can only remarry with the consent of a pañcayat. A widow can remarry. The dead are either burnt or buried, burying is cheaper and therefore, more common among the poorer of the lower classes.

⁶⁶ This custom resembles strangely the so called *Kas jat a* among the Brahmans and high caste Hindus. Pretending to go on a pilgrimage to *Kasi* (Benares) the bridegroom leaves his house with a wooden stick in his right hand, a *ladjan* (palm leaf) book under his left arm, on his left shoulder he carries an umbrella, to which is tied a bundle of clothes containing also some doll and other necessities for the journey. His feet are encased in a pair of *pādarakṣa* or hard leather slippers and on his head he wears a pugri. While on the road he is overtaken by the father and mother of his bride who carry respectively two coconuts and two vessels filled with water. The intended mother-in-law pours the water over the feet of the youth while her husband washes them and then gives him the two coconuts. Both entreat him not to proceed to Benares but to return and marry the daughter to which proposals he eventually listens and the wedding is celebrated as pre-arranged. The origin of this custom may be that though every Brahman should visit Benares in order to study there the young man cannot do so if he becomes a *grhaṭha* or family man. He saves therefore his conscience by simulating an immediate departure to *Kasi* and manifesting thus his good intentions which though not carried out will be credited to him as if he had actually performed the pilgrimage.

Mañlan, *Kulantān*, and *Murukan* are common names among Pallā men, while *Vallu*, *Terānai* (for *Dēvayāna* corruption of *Dēvasēnā*) and *Kulantai* (*Kulumai*) are applied to their women ⁶¹.

The Pallar are an industrious, hardworking, and hard-worked class of land labourers, found mostly in the Madras Presidency, and especially in the southern districts. They toil unintermittingly to enrich their masters, the actual owners of the soil, and they were, until very lately, not much better treated than bondslaves. The time is not remote when the owners of the ground even regarded them as their property, as Helots belonging to the land. Continual bad treatment and exposure to all kinds of hardship have been their sad lot, and it is only natural that this condition should have eventually told on their mental and physical development, but it speaks, on the other hand, much for the superiority of their original nature that, in spite of all the miseries endured, they have been able to retrieve their position under a kinder government and are now starting again with fair prospects of improvement.

The *Pulayar* of Travancore, Cochin, and Malabar correspond to the Pallar in the Tamil country, the Pallar settlers in these countries being often called *Pulayar*. Their fate resembles that of the Pallar. Constant exposure to the heat of a scorching sun, to the uncessing downpours of rain during the monsoon, and to the violent gales and thunderstorms so prevalent on the West Coast of India, combined with insufficient and unsubstantial nourishment, has undermined and stunted their physique, and their skin has in the course of generations assumed a colour approaching black as nearly as possible. Unfavorable local circumstances have made the position of the *Pulayar* even worse than that of

⁶¹ *Murukan* and *Murukēsan* are also names of *Subrahmanya*. See note 16 on p. 16

the most oppressed races in the Tamil country. The Pariahs or Pallar, who despaired of their sad lot, had at least a chance of improving it by running away from their oppressors without being caught again; but even this prospect was denied to the unfortunate Pulayan. Hemmed in on all sides by mountains, woods, backwaters, swamps, and the sea he could not hope to escape and to better his position; even if he evaded recapture, he had to face death in another cruel form in the wilderness in which he found himself entangled, and out of which he could not extricate himself.

Like the Pallan, the Pulayan, when well treated, has shown himself to be possessed of creditable mental and physical powers. In the census report of Travancore it is said of them that "they are an extremely useful and hard-working race, and are sometimes distinguished by a rare character for truth and honor, which their superiors in the caste scale might well emulate."

The degree of contempt with which the Pulayan is treated is evident from the disgraceful etymological derivation of his name from *Pula*, pollution, as has been already mentioned. Like every other Hindu, the Pulayan takes a pride in his caste and despises, in his turn, all those whom he regards as beneath him. As has also been remarked, the highest class among the Pariahs and the Pulayar is that of the Valluvar, who are moreover the priests of the Pariahs and Pallar. This seems to be another proof of the identical origin of the Pallan and Pulayan.

The chief deities of the Pulayan are *Mādan* and the *Fire Pāndaras*.

As a Pariah found at Melkōta the image of Celvapillai, as a Śavara was originally in possession of the sacred stone of Jagannātha, so also is the worship of Padmanābha in Trivandrum intimately connected with a Pulayan. Once a *Pulacci* or Pulaya woman, who was living with her husband in the Anantakadu jungle, suddenly heard the cry of a baby.

She rushed to the spot and saw, to her surprise, a beautiful child lying on the ground, protected by a cobra. She had compassion on it, and nursed it like her own child. The appearance of a cobra intimated to her the divine origin of the infant. This belief proved true, for the child was an incarnation of Viṣṇu. As soon as the Raja of Travancore heard of this wonderful event, he built a shrine on the spot where the baby had been found, and dedicated it to Padmanābha. This is the origin of the Padmanabha temple at Trivandrum. The Pulayar round Trivandrum assert to this day that in former times a Pulaya king ruled and had his castle not far from the present capital of Travancore ⁶³

This constant connection of individuals belonging to the lowest population with the worship of the Hindu gods is indeed a very peculiar and significant circumstance.

While the Pallar on the East Coast and the Pulayar on the Malabar Coast are mostly agricultural labourers, the *Pulayar* and the *Palliyar* (*Palliar*) in Madura are on the other hand mountaineers. The former are regarded as the aboriginal inhabitants of the Palani Hills, and have been the bondslaves of the Kunnugar. The Palliyār dwell on the hills also in Madura and the adjacent districts, avoiding as much as possible any intercourse with strangers.

Related to the Pallas by kinship, and bearing also a similar name, are the *Balla* (*Bala*, *Valla*, *Vella*) and *Bhalla* (*Bhalla* or *Bhil*).

It is now impossible to decide or explain when and why the original name *Palla* became thus diversified; but after these dialectical variations had once come into use, it was advisable to retain rather than to drop them.

⁶³ The god Padmanābha rests with his head at Tiruvallam and with his feet at Tirupalapur or Tirupadapur. The chief Nambāri priest of Travancore comes from Cochin and is called *Atuvāñēra Tamburaka*. See also Rev S. Mateer's *Land of Charity*, p. 161, and *Native Life in Travancore*, p. 34.

THE BALLAS

The tribe which bears this name has become famous throughout India at different times and in different places. We meet the *Ballas* in the North as well as in the South, but their fame is especially connected with those countries which form now a days the north western part of the Bombay Presidency, including its dependencies. Their ancient capital was the renowned *Balabhipura* in Kathiawar. Enormous ruins, spread over fifteen miles, are evidence of its splendour before its destruction in the eighth century. *Walla* lies now near the site of *Balabhipura*. The kings of the *Ballas* are known as *Balla Rajas* (*Balla-Ries*), *Balharas* and *Balilas*. The power and splendour of the *Balharas* excited the admiration of mediæval Arabian travellers who visited the Indian shores.

Some *Ballas* claim to belong to the *Suryavamsa* or sun-line and trace their descent from *Lava's* son *Balli*. The bards praise them as *Tatta Multan ka-Rao*, the Lords of *Tatta* and *Multan*. They called the territory which they conquered *Ballakṣētra* with *Balabhipur* as its chief town. The *Ballas* of *Surat* derive their origin from *Canira* or the moon and connect their pedigree with the *Balikaputras*, the ancient lords of *Aror* on the *Indus*. The present *Ballas* and the *Kāthi*s, like their ancestors, still worship the sun, which is the prevailing deity of *Multan*, a circumstance that intimates a Scythian and Non Aryan origin. The *Ballas* are probably identical with the *Mallas* whom we have mentioned above. The *Kāthi* of *Kathiawar*, who as *Kathari* fought against the great Macedonian, claim to be descended from the *Ballas*.

The name of the *Balla Rajas* reappears in a different form at a later period in *Mysore* as the well known *Balilas*.

Many places, all over India, still preserve the name of the *Ballas*. I reserve this subject for a later chapter, but mention here only such places as *Delgus* or *Baligrama*

Ballasamudham, Ballapallem, Ballapur, Mablesia (Mahaballešvara), &c.⁶³

THE BHILS

The Bhils are probably aborigines of Marwar. They live scattered over a great tract of country; they dwell so far north as the Aravalli Hills, and they are found in the

⁶³ See Lieutenant Colonel James Tod's *Annals of Rajasthan*, vol. I, pp. 112-113. "All the genealogists ancient and modern, insert the Balla tribe among the Raj-culas. The *byrd*, or blessing, of the bard is *Tatta Moollan caro* (Princes of Tatta and Moollan), indicative of their original abodes on the Indus. They lay claim however, to descent from the Sooryavansi, and maintain that their great ancestor, Balla or Bappa, was the offspring of Lava, the eldest son of Ram, that their first settlement in Saurashtra was at the ancient Dhanuk, in more remote periods called Mongy Pottun, and that, in conquering the country adjacent, they termed it Ballakhetr (their capital Balabhipoora), and assumed the title of Ballah rae. Here they claim identity with the Ghelote race of Mewar, nor is it impossible that they may be a branch of this family, which long held power in Saurashtra. Before the Ghelotes adopted the worship of Mahadeo, which period is indicated in their annals the chief object of their adoration was the sun, giving them that *Seyitic* resemblance to which the Ballas have every appearance of claim. The Ballas on the continent of Saurashtra on the contrary, assert their origin to be Induvansi, and that they are the Balica pootras who were the ancient lords of Arore on the Indus. The Cutchis claim descent from the Ballas, an additional proof of northern origin and strengthening their right to the epithet of the bards 'Lords of Moollan and Tatta'. The Ballas were of sufficient consequence in the thirteenth century to make incursions on Mewar, and the first exploit of the celebrated Rana Hamir was his killing the Balla chieftain of Choteela. The present chief of Dhanuk is a Balla, and the tribe yet preserves importance in the peninsula."

Read also *ibidem* pp. 216-219. "A work written to commemorate the reign of Rana Raj Singh opens with these words: 'In the west is Sooratdes, a country well known the barbarians invaded it and conquered *Bhal-en nath*, all fell in the sack of Balabhipoora except the daughter of the 'Primara.' And the Sanderai roll thus commences: 'When the city of Balabhi was sacked the inhabitants fled and founded Balli, Sanderai, and 'Nidole in Moudur des. These are towns yet of consequence. The tract about Balabhipoora and northward is termed *Bhal*, probably from the tribe of Balla. The sun was the deity of this northern tribe. The solar orb and its type fire were the chief objects of adoration of Silladitya of Balabhipoora." The Balarajas are also mentioned in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. IX.

Lieutenant Colonel Tod's *Travels in Western India* London 1839 pp. 147-149 contain the same information as above, to this is added the following: "The Balla pays adoration exclusively to the sun, and it is only in

deserts of Sind and Rajputāna as well as in the woody and inaccessible gorges of Kandesh and Ahmedabad.

The name of the Bhils occurs in various Sanskrit works, and also in Ptolemy, VII, 1, 66. He makes mention of the *Phyllitai* together with the *Bettigoi* and *Kandaloi*.

Instead of connecting the *Phyllitai* with the Bhils, as Lassen first rightly proposed to do, Sir A. Cunningham prefers to derive the term *Phyllitai* from the Greek word

"Saurashtra that temples to this orb abound, so that religion, tradition as regards their descent, and personal appearance, all indicate an Indo-scythic origin for this race, and in order to conceal their barbarian (*mitcha*) extraction, the fable of their birth from Rama may have been devised." The city of Balabhi, written *Wulleh* in the maps, and now an inconsiderable village, was said to be twelve coss, or fifteen miles, in circumference. From its foundations, gigantic bricks, from one and-a-half to two feet in length, are still dug, but of this hereafter. Enough has been said to trace the origin of the Balhara of the Arabian travellers, the Balokouras of Ptolemy, for, even in the second century, it had claims to the attention of the royal geographer of Egypt. See *ibidem*, pp. 156, 159-169, where Colonel Tod discusses the Arabic accounts of the *Balhara* princes of India. On page 160 he says: "We may remark upon this description, first, of the title *Balhara*, that it was derived from *Balla-ca-Ras*, whose ancient capital was Balabhipoor, on whose site Ptolemy has placed a Byzantium." I also derive *Balhara* from *Balla Paja*, the word *Balla* having undergone the change, which I have explained on pp. 71 and 72. Though Colonel Tod gives above the right explanation, he called these rulers on p. 145 "*Balhara*, or more correctly *Balha-ras*, exalted kings." The Arabic travellers, especially *Ibn Khurdadha* and *Al Idrisi*, styled these monarchs and interpreted their name *Balhara* as meaning king of kings, and the late Mr. Edward Thomas, of numismatic reputation, explained it to signify *Bara Ras*, great king or lord paramount of the time being. Compare about this subject "The History of India," edited from the posthumous papers of Sir H. M. Elliot by Professor John Dowson, vol. I, pp. 3-5, 9, 13, 21, 24, 86, 87, 261 and 354-358, which latter passage contains a great deal of information on this subject. The *Relation des Voyages faits par les Arabes et les Persans dans l'Inde et à la Chine*, par M. Reinaud, Paris, 1815, should be also consulted.

Colonel Tod devotes a special chapter to *Balabhi* in his *Travels in Western India*, pp. 265-271. "The name of this is now *Balla*, or *Wulleh*. . . some interesting additions amply confirmed all I had recorded of it (*Balabhi*) from the *Yatus* of *Balla* and *Sandera* in *Marwar*, the descendants of those who were expelled on its sack in S. 300 (A. D. 214)." . . Still, both books and tradition connect the tribe of *Balla* with the ancient sovereigns of *Balabhi*. . . The lord of *Balla khetra* would, of course, be *Bal-ca-rae*, which doubtless originated the epithet, so often noticed, of the *Balhara* princes. Not far from *Balabhi*, there is a spot still sacred to the pilgrim,

φύλλον, leaf, and to assign to it the meaning of leaf-clad. This expression, according to Sir Alexander, appropriately describes the Gonds, though *parna*, leaf, is used only in connection with the Śabarās, as he himself admits when referring to them. There is no objection to his explaining *parna* by "leaf-clad," though it can also signify "leaf-eating." In fact I prefer to a certain extent the former interpretation of *parna*. But as the *Phyllitai* are mentioned by Ptolemy as a

and connected with the grand national epic, the *Mahābhārata*, called Bhīrmanāth, where there is a fountain, whose waters, in past days, were of miraculous efficacy, and on whose margin is a temple to Śiva, which attracts votaries from all quarters. The origin of this spot is referred to the adventures of the Pandua brothers, and their wanderings in exile amongst the forests of Berar, which tradition places in this very region, and its capital, Beratgurrh, is held to be the more modern, but still interesting Dholka, included in Balla khetra, and affording fresh and almost superabundant testimony to the veracity of the ancient chronicles of Mewar, which state Balabhi, Beratgurrh, and Gurrh-Gejri to have been the three chief cities, which owned their way on their expulsion from the "Land of the Sauras." The era of Balabhi, which is identical with the Gupta era, begins, according to the correct statement of Allibrant, in A D 333. The Balabhi grants are dated between the years 207 and 447 of the Gupta era. (See Colonel Tod's *Annals of Rajasthan*, vol I, 801 and *Travels in Western India*, p 213, and in the *Indian Antiquary*, vols. XI, pp 241, 305-9, XV, pp 189 273, 336, XVI, p 147, the researches of Dr Hultzsch, Prof Buhler, and Mr Fleet.) Balabhi was visited by Hivern Tamang about 640 A D. "On its destruction, in the middle of the eighth century, Anhilwarra became the metropolis, and this, as recorded, endured until the fourteenth, when the title of Balabhi became extinct." (Tod's *Travels in Western India*, p 214.)

Ptolemy mentions, VII, 1 83 Ἰπποκῦρα βασιλεῖον Βαλεκούρου, for which Willberg in his edition of Ptolemy substitutes Βαλεγκούρου. This is the passage to which Colonel Tod has referred above in his *Travels* on p 149, and which is mentioned also in his *Annals*, vol I p 213. Chr Lassen speaks in his *Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol III, pp 179, 185, and 186 of this passage, and places this Hippokura in the south. "Die Stadt muss in der Nähe des jetzigen Mulker gelegen haben. Nur so viel lässt sich, ohne Besorgniss zu irren, behaupten, dass dem Striptolemos die nördlichen, dem Balaokuros die südlichen Gebiete unterworfen waren." I conjecture that the word Balla is contained in Balaokura as well as in Balerkura, and if the latter is accepted as a reading, the r must indicate the title of Raja or Rao.

About Balabhi consult "Notes on the Ancient City of Balabhipura" by Mr B. A. R. Nicholson, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol XIII, pp 146-163. Read also the articles on this subject by the above mentioned scholars, and those of the late Mr J Fergusson, and Professor R. Gopal Bhandarkar, in the *Indian Antiquary*, vols I, VII, IV, V, VI, VII, IX, XI,

separate tribe distinguished from the *Kandaloi*, both cannot be merged into one, nor can *Phyllitai* be taken as a Greek word, for Ptolemy does not use Greek expressions instead of, or among other, Indian proper names without tendering an explanation for such an unusual proceeding. *Phyllitai*, moreover, does not occur in Greek in the sense suggested by Sir A. Cunningham.

The passage in Ptolemy has no connection whatever with the Śābaras.⁷⁰

XII, XIV, XV and XVI. Professor Buhler especially has by his publication and translation of a considerable number of Balabhi grants considerably contributed to the elucidation of this hitherto dark passage in Indian history.

Compare also Sir Alexander Cunningham's remarks in the *Archæological Survey of India*, vol II, pp 33-35. "We know also that both the Balas and the Kathi of the present day pay special adoration to the sun, which was the chief deity of Multan, from the earliest times down to the reign of Aurangzib, by whose orders the idol is said to have been destroyed. It seems probable therefore that the *Balas* may be the same tribe as the *Malli* or *Mali* of Alexander's historians, as the interchange of the letters *b* and *m*, which is of frequent occurrence in most languages, was very common in the Macedonian dialect." Compare about *Multan*, vol V, pp 114-136 of the *Archæological Survey of India*, and about the golden statue of the Sun, II M Elliot's *History of India*, vol I, pp 11, 23, 27, 35, 82, 205 and 469.

The remark about the Macedonian dialect is misleading, as the Greek historians mention the Malloi, and as the change of *m* into *b* is in this instance of Indian origin.

⁷⁰ The *Pardisapaddhati* mentions the Bhils, Pulindas, Pallas, Mallas and others in the following lines

Palinda-Mēda-Bhullāśca Pallō Mallāśca Dhāvakaḥ,
Kundakārō Dōkhālō va Mrtapō Hastipās tathā,
Eṣo vai Tivaraṃjātāḥ Kanyāyām Brāhmaṇasya ca

See Ptolemy, VII, 1, 66; "Περὶ δὲ τὴν Νανυγούσαν Φυλλῖται καὶ Εἰπτεγῆς, ἐν οἷς Κάνδαλοι μὲν παρὰ τοὺς Φυλλῖται καὶ τὴν νοτιομένην." See Sir A. Cunningham in the *Archæological Survey of India*, vol IV, p 161. "In his (Ptolemy's) day the large district at the head of the *Nanayana*, or *Tapti* River, was occupied by the *Kandaloi* or *Gondali*, a name which has been generally identified with that of the Gonds. But their country is described as *para Phullitarum*, the *Phullitae* themselves being placed more to the north. I take this name to be a pure Greek one, φυλλῖται, descriptive of the 'leaf-clad' aborigines. Varsha Mihra notices the *Parna-Sābaras*, 'or 'leaf-clad Sābaras', and we know that the Juangs of the present day still preserve this primitive costume. I believe, therefore, that there may have been *Parna Gondas* or 'leaf-clad Gonds' in the time of Ptolemy, and that these are the people intended by his *Phullitae-Gondali*."

The Mārs of Ajmere resemble the Bhils, and these again are not dissimilar to the Parheyas and Khonds. The Bhils

This opinion does not appear to coincide with that expressed by Sir A Cunningham in vol XXI, p 93 "Still further to the south Ptolemy places "the *Phullitæ* and the *Kondai*, whose country is described as *Para Phullitarum* Phullitæ I take to be a Greek name descriptive of the *Parna* "Savaras, or 'leaf-clad Savaras,' one of the most powerful of the aboriginal "races in the early centuries of the Christian era Their only town was "Agara, which may perhaps be identified with Sagar." In H T Colebrooke's edition of *Amaralōsa*, Serampore, 1825, p 232, note j, we read *śavaras* or *paśaravara*, wearing feathers (a peacock's tail, &c) A Lousseur Deslongchamps' French edition contains on p 233 the same remark In Bethlingk and Roth's *Sanskrit Wörterbuch*, vol IV, p 417, stands *paśaravara*, "ein mit Federn sich schmückender Savara" *Brhatsamhitā*, XIV, 10, mentions the *Purikadāśārṇa* with *saha nagnaparnasavaras*, and Bothlingk calls *ibidem*, p 574 the *Parnasavara*, von Blättern lebende Savara, i e, Savaras, who live on leaves, the term occurs also in *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* Some take *Parpa* as the name of a people, e g, Mr N Chidambaram Iyer, who translates this passage *Nagna, Parpa and Sabara* It is possible that in this place three different tribes are enumerated, the *Nagna* (naked), the *Parpa* and the *Śabara* for if two tribes, the *Nagna śabara* and *Parna śabara*, i e, the "naked Sabara" and the "leaf Sabara," are only mentioned, in order to prevent any doubt on this subject, any other mode of expression would have been preferable to the use of the compound in the Instrumental Plural, i e, to *nagnaparnasavaras* I ought also not omit to mention that the *Śavaras* occur ten times in the *Brhatsamhitā*, but only once in the quoted place in connection with either *nagna* or *parpa* To these remarks I join General Sir A Cunningham's comments as contained in his 17th vol pp 127, 128 "I think it probable that Colebrooke's reading of *Parpa Savaras* is "erroneous, as Varāha Mihira gives the name of *Parna Savara*, or leaf-clad "Savaras Varāha places in the south east quarter, in the territory of the "aborigines, the *Purikas*, the *Dastamas*, the "naked *Savaras*, and the *Parpa* "Savaras," and in the south the *Sauris* and *Kirpas* The commentator, "however, takes these two names as one, or *Sauri-Kirpas*, who are probably "the people of Hwen Tsang's *Kirna Saurana* Professor Kern thinks that "the *Parpa Savaras* are 'manifestly the Phyllitæ of Ptolemy,' and he explains the name as 'feeding upon leaves' But, as we know that the *Juangs*, "a cognate race, still wear leaves, it seems to me more probable that the "term means 'leaf clad' In other places Varāha speaks of the 'Savaras "savages," (IX, 15), the 'savage *Śavaras* and *Pulindas*' (IX, 29), and "of various tribes of *Śabara savages* (XXXII, 15) This last notice must "refer to more than the two tribes of *Nagna Śavaras*, or 'Naked Savaras,' "and *Parna Savaras*, or 'Leaf-clad.' Both *Amara* and *Varāha* date about "A D 500"

To my previous remarks, I only add that the term *φυλλίται*, as used by Ptolemy, cannot apply to the *Śavaras*, who are mentioned by him VII, 1, 80 near the Ganges, that a word *φυλλίται* does, I believe, not occur in Greek, though *φυλλίτης* (m) and *φυλλίτης* (f) are used in the sense of *φύλλαρος*, made of leaves, that the *Phyllitæ* are distinguished by Ptolemy from the *Kandaiæ*

being mostly mountaineers, are called in Kanarese *Koracaru* or *Kuruciyar*, and a Bhil woman or *Koravayi* is known in Sanskrit as *Bhilla stri* or *Parvateji* ¹¹ *Koravañji* is also the name of a girl whom Arjuna is said to have married when he stayed in the *Rairataka* forest ¹²

Cairns, cromlechs and stone platforms testify on the tops of hills to the presence of the Bhils. Clay horses are, as in Southern India, dedicated to the gods. If images of horses are deposited near or on the tops of hills, the souls of the dead are supposed to shorten their journey to heaven by using them.

Though of a wild and unmanageable disposition and much addicted to thieving, the Bhils can, when they have once been won by kind and just treatment, be easily turned into useful and trustworthy servants, soldiers, and land labourers. Some of their villages show superior cultivation. In Nimār and elsewhere they fill the post of hereditary

and that both cannot be regarded as one nation. '*Phyllis Gondals*' (IX p 151) or as '*Kafelad Sacaras*' (XXI p 93) that the country of the *Kondal* is not by Ptolemy described as *Para Phyllis tarum* and that the *Sakaras* are in the *Bṛhat-samhita* IX 15 29 and XXII 15 not respectively called '*Sakara savages*' *savago Sakaras* and *Lulindas* and of '*various tribes of Sakara savages*' for we find there in the text *dr kṛd chabarasiddhā* (IX 15) *Sakrapul nāpṛakṛmeskare* (IX 29) and *Tangana Kalāga Langa* *Icarāṣṭha Sabardika naikariddhā* the *Sakaras* mentioned but nowhere as *Sakara savages*. The *Sikṣya Darpana* mentions the different dialects, by whom they should be spoken, and indicates that the language of the *Abhirus* and *Sakaras* should be used by those who gain their living by wood and have as most probably by wood cutting and leaf gathering (*Abhirit bhavati capu kṣāpapatropajivisu*). We meet here the *Sakaras* in connection with *patra*.

It is Prof. Caldwell who advocates in his *Comparative Grammar* the derivation of *Phyllis* from *bil*, arrow, as he says on p 464. *Bhilas* probably *Bilas* from the Dravidian *bil* a bow, 'lowmen'. The *Bettigol* are also called *Bittit* and *Bittigol*. Compare Lassen vol I p 113 (89) and Scherring vol II p 122, 251 271 290 302; III 81 81.

¹¹ See Dalton pp 264 251 470 and 432. Compare also "An Account of the Malwar Pilla" by Mr T H Hendley, *Longal Asiatic Journal* vol XVII, pp 217 304.

¹² The narrative is mentioned in a Kanarese ballad. A commentary of the *Prithvi* 1779 gives it by the name of *Korava Jayam*.

watchmen, as the Mhars and Holeyas do in other parts of India.

The chiefs of the Bhils are known as *Bhillālas*. Some Bhil chiefs have assumed the title of *Nayak* or *Naik*, as the Pallis and Mahars have done. The founder of the Yādava Dynasty of *Dēcagiri* bore the name of *Bhillama*, which word I have previously explained. This Bhillama is also called Bhillamanrpa, and Balanrpa, and Bellam.

Colonel Tod names *Bulla* as the progenitor of the Bhils⁷³

THE PULINDAS.

Not only in their name but also in their habits and customs do the Pallar, Pulayar and their kindred tribes

⁷³ See Mr T H Hendley's *Account of the Malwar Bhils*, vol 44, p 347, ff. "In the hilly tracts, the erection of cairns, usually on hill tops, the adoption of Shiva and his consort as symbols of the powers of terror and darkness, the construction of stone platforms on which stand blocks smeared with red paint, the sacrifice of animals and tradition of human oblations, the use of effigies of the horse are apparently relics of their ancient faith. Piles of loose stones, or mere platforms, are erected on the summits of high hills, on these are arranged a large number of stone or burnt clay images of the horse. I have seen a hollow cairn on the verge of a steep crag near Khairwara, four feet in diameter and as many deep, filled with these images, each of which was about four inches in length. The common explanation of the construction of cairns and horses is as follows—Heaven is supposed to be but a short distance from earth, but the souls of the dead have to reach it by a very painful and weary journey, which can be avoided to some extent during life by ascending high hills, and there depositing images of the horse—which in addition to reminding the gods of the work already accomplished, serve as chargers upon which the soul may ride a stage to bliss. . . The Bhil is an excellent wood-man, knows the shortest cuts over the hills, can walk the roughest paths and climb the steepest crags without slipping or feeling distressed. Though robbers, and timorous, owing to ages of ill-treatment, the men are brave when trusted, and very faithful, they have been looked upon by the Rājputs as wild beasts to be hunted down as vermin, and are now only beginning to feel themselves men. History proves them always to have been faithful to their nominal Rājput sovereigns, especially in their adversity. The Bhil is a merry soul loving a jest." About the Bhils read the account of Mr W. I. Sinclair in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol IV, pp 336-338.

Colonel Tod mentions *Bulla* on the first table of his *Annals*. In the IV Appendix to the same volume on p. 802 *Pulinda-Devī* is explained as the goddess of the Bhil tribe.

With respect to the *Nauk* title in use among the Bhils, see Dr Wilson's

resemble the ancient *Pulindas*, who lived in olden times in various districts all over India.

In the *Āitarēya Brāhmana* the *Pulindas*, together with the *Āndhras*, *Pundras*, *Śabaras*,¹⁴ and *Mūtihas*, are declared to be the offspring of the cursed elder sons of *Viśvāmitra*, while, according to another tradition, they were descended from the dark-skinned, flat-nosed, and dwarfish *Nisādn*, who had been produced by rubbing the thigh of the corpse of the impious king *Vēna*. The *Pulindas* are frequently mentioned in the classical language of India as well as in those of Europe. The *Rāmāyṇa* fixes their abode in different parts of Northern and Southern India. They are found on the banks of the *Indus*, and even in *Ceylon*; ¹⁵ in Central India they occupied extensive tracts and dwelt among the *Bhils*, *Śabaras*, and *Gonds* in such a manner that the one are often mistaken for the other. The *Mahābhārata*, *Viṣṇu*-, *Bhāgavata*-, *Padma*-, and other *Purāṇas*, the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* and various works contain repeated allusions to them, and *Ptolemy* introduces them by the name of *Pulindai agriophagoi*,¹⁶ or

Indian Caste, vol. I, p. 99: "The word *Nāl*, the contraction of *Nāyal*, is the common epithet (of respect) used by the lowly *Mahars* of the *Maratha* country. From the abundance of *Nāls* connected with the *Bhils* of the *Baria* jungles, east of *Baroda*, they are called *Nālkadas*." Compare also *Ebering's Hindu Tribes and Castes*, vol. II, p. 293: "The territories of *Baria* and *Chota Goddepoor*, in *Rewa Kanta*, were infested by a class of *Bheels*, known as *Naukras*, of peculiarly savage and predatory habits." Consult also *Indian Antiquary*, vol. III, p. 208, on *Nākara*; *Nāyak*; *Nayko*.

¹⁴ I quote here the derivation of the word *Śabara* proposed by General Sir *Alx Cunningham*, *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. XVII, p. 113: "The origin of the name of *Sacra* must be sought for outside the language of the *Aryas*. In Sanskrit *Sacra* simply means a 'corpse.' From *Herodotus*, however, we learn that the *Scythian* word for an 'axe' was *Saxaria*; and as *g* and *s* are interchangeable letters, *Sacra* is the same word as *Saxer*. It seems, therefore, not unreasonable to infer that the tribes, who were so called, took their name from their habit of carrying axes. Now it is one of the striking peculiarities of the *Savars* that they are rarely seen without an axe in their hands."

¹⁵ See *Lewes's Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol. II, p. 101, 162.

¹⁶ *Παλινοὶ ἀγριοφάγοι*; *Ptol.*, VII, 1, 61.

raw flesh and wild fruits eating Pulindas, as living north of the present Barok.

ON PULAHA, PULASTYA, PULŌMAN, &c.

The previously mentioned names of *Pulaha*, *Pulastya*, *Pulōman*, &c., bear in their first two syllables *Pula* a strange resemblance to the name of the *Pulayar* and *Pulindas*. Sanskrit grammarians generally connect the names of these Saints with the root *pul*, to be great, and the word *Pulastya* is also derived from *pulas*, standing for *puras*. These derivations, however, appear too artificial.⁷⁷

Pulastya is said to be the father of *Agastya* and *Viśravas*. *Viśravas* had four sons, *Kubēra* by *Idavidā* (or *Navilā*) and *Rācana*, *Kumbhakarṇa*, and *Vibhīṣana* by *Kēśinī*. The saintly civiliser of Southern India, *Agastya*, is thus, as previously noticed, very closely indeed related to the chief of the hated *Raksasas*, being in fact the uncle of *Ravana*, the god-despising king of *Lankā*. While *Ravana* conquered India and reduced the gods to abject subjection, from which they were only rescued by *Visnu* appearing as *Balarāma*, his uncle *Agastya* waged war with the demons and advised *Rāma* how to subdue the *Raksasas*. Similar family discords assisted *Rāma* in his warfare against *Ravana* and *Bali*, whose respective brothers *Vibhīṣana* and *Sugrīva* joined *Rāma*.

While *Ravana* is regarded with horror by the Brahmins, *Rāvaṇabhēṭ*, a Vedio work on *Phonetics*, is ascribed to this *Raksasa*. His memory is still cherished by the Jains.

⁷⁷ Compare the remarks of the Rev. F. Kittel on the root *pulas*, *pule*, *pole* and on *Pulaha* and *Pulastya* in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VIII (1879), pp. 50, 51. Though I arrived at my conclusions previously to my reading Mr Kittel's suggestive article, I admit his priority in this respect and gladly quote his opinion: "The *Pallava* . . . and the *Pallavala*, a libertine, a gallant, "I do not hesitate to connect with *Poley*, and who knows whether the "ancient *Pallava* dynasty was not a dynasty of certain *Poleys* when still a "powerful tribe"

It is also curious that Ravana is esteemed and acknowledged by pious Pandits as a learned man, and is supposed to have been the author of a Telugu Grammar ⁷⁸

Though the Raksasas are described in the Rāmāyana and elsewhere as horrible monsters both physically and morally, it appears that the condition of being a Rākṣasa depended more upon the sins committed by an individual or by his progenitors than upon the accident of birth. If thus he admitted, the physical monstrosities ascribed to the Raksasas must be regarded as the exaggerated creations of a morbid and hostile imagination.

Even the Rāmāyana extols the beauty and grandeur of Lankā, its architectural splendour, and the efficiency of its administration. This latter was so excellent, that no thief dared to pick up any valuable thing lost in its streets. The enemies of Rāma could hardly, therefore, have been so rude and uncivilised as they are generally represented.

The ancient historical capital of Ceylon went by the name of Pulastinagara.⁷⁹ If Ravana is regarded as the king of Lankā, and perhaps also as the master of Southern India, and if the present Pulayar are admitted to be representatives of the aborigines, the startling similarity of the names *Pulastya* and *Pulayan* is at once explained.

The relationship between the Paulastya Agastya and the Paulastya Ravana opens at all events a new and wide perspective. It thus appears that the mind-born sons of Brabma should be taken as the progenitors of all the different races of India, and that, as all men emanate from one common source, no vital difference is acknowledged to exist between

⁷⁸ Compare the *Āndhra Kaumudī* in which the *Ritaniya*, the Telugu Grammar ascribed to Ravana, is repeatedly mentioned.

⁷⁹ Megasthenes calls the Singhalese *Palatogonoi* and the *Persipus maris Frythraei* calls Ceylon *Palatamundu*. See *Lauson's Ind. Ant.*, I, p. 210 (2nd edition), compare also Mr T W. Rhys Davids in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. II (1873), p. 286, on *Palastjura*.

them at first. The degraded condition into which some sank was, therefore, due to subsequent events.

The word *Pula* must be regarded as a corruption of *Palla*. This change from *a* to *u* is easily accounted for. Not only is the letter *a* changed into *u*, as in the Sanskrit *pala* which in Tamil becomes *pula*, but the vowel *a* is often, especially in the North India, pronounced as *u*.

It is even possible that the names of the demon *Ihala*, who was destroyed by Agastya, and of his son *Baltala* contain another reference to the original Pallas. At all events the similarity of the names of *Pulaha*, *Pulastya*, *Puloman*, &c., with that of the Pulayar, as well as the connection which the near relationship between the Sage Agastya and the Raksasa Ravana suggests as existing between the Brahmanical civiliser of Southern India and the representative ruler of the aborigines, should command in future researches the attention of the scholar.

CHAPTER VI.

ON THE PALLIS, AONIKULAS, PĀNDYAS, VELLĀLAR, &c.

The Aonikulas

Another portion of the aboriginal South-Indian population is represented by the *Pallis*. The *Pallis* form at this moment on the whole a highly respectable class, living partly as agriculturists in the country and partly as citizens in towns. They belong to the caste of the *Vanniyar* (வணியர்).⁸⁰ The word *Vanniyar* is generally derived from the Sanskrit

⁸⁰ This caste includes also the Anuppar, Bailagar, Dévadigar, Kallar, Maravar, Masadikar, Bantar, Moppar, Nattambadis, Padayaccis, Parivarams, Sudras, Uppiliyar, Udayar and Vanniyar. According to the last Census Report the *Pallis* number 1,300,733 souls, of whom 1,295,049 live in the Madras Presidency, which number is only exceeded by the Shanar with 2,028,546, of whom 1,478,660 dwell also in Madras, by the Vellalar with 1,683,100, and by the Pariah with 3,223,938 persons, and the whole of the other unclassified population consisting of 3,931,990 individuals. The last two figures refer to the Madras Presidency alone.

Vahni, fire *Agni*, the god of fire, is connected with the regal office, as kings hold in their hands the firewheel or *Āgnēyacakra*, and the Vanniyar urge in support of their name the regal descent they claim, for they contend that the Pandya kings belonged to their race. In the north of India four races—the *Cauhān*, *Cālukya* (Sōlankī), *Pramāra*, and *Parthāra*—similarly claim to originate from Agni, and are called *Agnikulas*.

The existence of these Fire-races, *Agnikula* or *Vahnikula* (Vanniyar), in North and South India is a remarkable fact. No one can refuse to a scion of a Non-Aryan warrior tribe the title of *Rājaputra*, but in so doing we establish at once Aryan and Non-Aryan Rājaputras or Rājputs. The Vanniyar of South India may be accepted as a representative of the Non-Aryan Rājput element. Yet, if we thus admit a Turanian element among the Rājputs, the question arises, how far does it extend? The modern Rājputs of Northern India are in most cases the offspring of mixed parentage, for even Aryan warriors of pure extraction did not scorn in bye-gone times to take as wives by peaceful or violent means the alien daughters of the soil.⁴¹

The legend goes that after Paraśurāma had swept the Ksatriya race from the surface of the earth, ignorance and infidelity began to spread again in the land, and the Brahmins were prevented by impious races—Asuras, Daityas, and Dānavas—from fulfilling their sacred rites. *Vasiṣṭha*, or according to others his great rival *Vāśedmitra*, took compassion on the oppressed, and with Indra, Brahma, Śiva, Viṣṇu and the other gods repaired to the Agnikunda, i.e., the hollow which contained the consecrated fire, on Mount *Abu*, the celebrated peak of Rājasthan. There the hermits prayed and purified the fire fountain with the sacred water of the Ganges. *Indra* first formed a figure of grass and sprinkling on

⁴¹ Compare pp. 45 and 46 on the genealogies of the Rājputs

it the water of life, cried "*Mar, Mar*" "Slay, Slay," and the *Paramara*, the killer of enemies, appeared. Abu Dhar and Ujjain were assigned to him as his territory. *Brahma* instilled his essence into the second image and throwing it into the pit, *Caluk* or *Sölanki* appeared with a sword in one hand, the *Vēda* in the other, and a noose round his neck. He received *Anhalpitr*. *Śiva* formed the third figure, and *Parihara* rose as an ill favored black figure armed with a bow. He stumbled and was placed as a guardian at the temple gates. Nine places of the desert, *Maustalam*, were assigned to him. *Viṣṇu* formed *Caturbhūja* *Chohan* who appeared like him four armed, in each arm carrying a peculiar weapon. He received *Macarati Nagari*. These were the ancestors of the *Agnikulas* who destroyed the *deवास*, and of all the thirty six royal races the four *Agnikulas* rank highest, according to "*Chandi*, the great bard of the Chohans." This creation is dated so far back as the opening of the second "age of the Hindus" (Tod, *ibidem*, p. 442). Chohan chro-

⁹² See for this account Tod's *Rajastha* vol II pp 440 ff. *Indra* is here mentioned as the presiding priest while in the first volume p. 95 *Vasistha* fills this place. From the fire fountain a figure issued forth but he had not a warrior's mien. The Brahmins placed him as guardian of the gate and thence his name *Prithvidwara* (portal or door (*dwar*) of the earth contracted to *Prithihara* and *Purihara*). A second issued forth and being formed in the palm (*chakoo*) of the hand was called *Chalooka*. A third appeared and was named *Pramara* (the first striker). He had the blessing of the Rics and with the others went against the demons but they did not prevail. Again *Vasistha* seated on the lotus prepared incantations again he called the gods to aid and as he poured forth the libation a figure arose lofty in stature of elevated front his ruddy eyes rolling breast expanded fierce terrific, clad in armour quiver filled a bow in one hand and a brand in the other quadriform (*chatooranga*) whence his name *Chohan* (*chatoor* or *cha*, 'four *Anga* body'). About *Canhan* see Elliot's *S. P. Glossary* vol I, p. 62 ff.

The discrepancies between these two legends are considerable not only so far as the presiding priests are concerned but also with respect to the order of creation and because in the description given in the text the gods themselves take part in the creation. *Caluk* or *Chaluk* is a gasifier and allowed land to hold water. Colonel Tod assigns (II p. 441) as above stated the *nonngul* *Marustal* or nine habitations of the desert to *Parihara* while he had previously (vol I p. 91) allotted the *Av-kote* *Marustal* to *Pramara*.

nicles mention *Aja* as the founder of *Ajme*, the mountain of *Aja*. Tradition connects Candragupta with the *Mori* branch of the *Pramaras*. *Ujyaini*, the capital of Vikramaditya, is assigned to them, and *Bhoja Raja*, at whose court the *Nine Gems* are said to have flourished, belonged to the *Pramara* tribe.

It is not my purpose to discuss here the fortunes of these celebrated clans, they are only of interest in this inquiry in so far as a connection might be established between the *Agnikula* of the North and the *Vanniyar* of the South.

Lassen regards the derivation of the name *Paramāra* from *Paramāra* in the sense of *killer of enemies* as suspicious and ascribes it to a later period.³³ Colonel Tod says "that these races, the sons of Agni, were but regenerated, and converted by the Brahmuns to fight their battles, the clearest interpretation of their allegorical history will disclose, and warrants our asserting the *Agnikulas* to be of this same race, which invaded India about two centuries before Christ"—(Vol I, p 90). No matter whether Colonel Tod's reasoning and conclusion are right or wrong, one can agree with him so far as the Non-Aryan origin of the *Agnikulas* is concerned.

As has previously been stated, mention is made by Ptolemy, VII, 1, 70, of the *Porvaroi* (*Πορβάροι*), a name which Lassen thinks is derived from *Pramara*.³⁴ I believe that Lassen is mistaken on this point. I prefer to explain the *m* as a modification of an original *r*, as, e g, in *Vellama* for *Pallava*, and to suggest *Paratara* as the original form of *Paramara*.

³³ See Lassen's *Ind. Alterth.*, III, p 572. "Da sein Name sonst *Pramara* lautet, muss jene Erklärung des Namens als eine willkürliche Dichtung gelten."

³⁴ See Lassen *ibidem* III, p 150. "Von den *Porvaroi* habe ich schon früher bemerkt, dass ihr Name höchst wahrscheinlich aus dem bekannten, sich *Pramara* nennenden Geschlechte der *Rajaputra* entstellt ist, welcher in der Volkssprache *Punvar* lautet und in dieser Form weiter von *Pramara* entfernt ist, als *Porvara*."

I have already connected the Paravāri of the Maratha country with the Poruaroī of Ptolemy, and eventually with the Pariahs of Southern India. Others identify the Pōruaroī with the Paribārās. Whichever derivation is right, we cannot be far wrong, if we regard the connection between the Pōruaroī and the Paravar and Pariahs as established, mainly in consequence of the identity between the Marāthi Paravārī and the Mahārs.⁵⁵

One of the 15 sub-divisions of the South-Indian Vanniyar is called *Parivāram*, which name, if not of Sanskrit origin, may likewise be considered as a connecting link between the northern and southern Paravārī.

Under these circumstances the terms *Pramāra* and *Parihāra* can be traced to an ancient Dravidian source and associated with the Paradas and similar names. Dr. Fr. Buchanan has, as I have quoted, proposed to connect the Pariharas with the Bhars.

No doubt most of the Rajputs are easily distinguishable from other Hindus by their proud bearing, fine figure and lighter complexion, but these peculiarities do not necessarily point to an Aryan origin, for such varieties in outward appearance are found in all large nations which contain different classes and ranks. The Turcomans of Western Asia, the Osmanli Turks and the Magyars of Hungary, who are not Aryans, count among the finest races. If the origin of the Agnikūlas throughout India can be eventually proved as Non-Aryan, a very important historical fact will

⁵⁵ *Archæological Survey of India*, vol IX, p 5. "The Poruaroī, who are very probably the same people as the Parihārs," *ibidem*, vol XXI, p 93. "To the south of the Bohingae, Ptolemy places the Poruaroī with their three towns, named *Bridama*, *Tholobana*, and *Malanta*. The people I take to be the Parihar Rajputs, who have occupied this part of the country from a very early date"—Mr McCrindle says in his *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, p 164. "Pōruaroī (Poruaroī)—This is the famous race of the Pauravas, which, after the time of Alexander was all predominant in Rajasthāna under the name of the Pramāras."

have been ascertained. New researches have shown that the Aryan population in India is very limited in numbers, and that even admitting all Brahmans to be of pure Aryan origin, this highest caste counts according to the last census only 13,693,439 members against a grand total of 252,541,210⁸⁶

ON THE PALLIS

A feeling of superiority has of late re-asserted itself among the Pallis. The Madras Census Report of 1871 states "The *Punnias* or *Pallies* are the great agricultural laboring class of the southern districts. Before the British occupation of the country, they were slaves to the Vellalar and Brahman cultivators, but a large number of them are now cultivators on their own account, or else work the lands of the higher castes, on a system of sharing half the net produce with the proprietor"⁸⁷ With the return

⁸⁶ See *Madras Census Report* of 1881 vol I pp 103-105. It will also be unnecessary here to go over the old discuss on as to how far the caste system of Southern India is of Aryan origin. It may be safely accepted that the mass of the people are not Aryan that indeed none of them are Aryan except the Brahmans probably not all of these for there are several classes or subdivisions of Brahmans of more or less hazy origin. All the rest of the so called Indians may if they please call themselves Shūdras but they are in fact a Dravidian or Turanian or Scythian people who have adopted in a very highly developed form the Aryan caste system whose germs are found in the four caste system of Menu. Of late years castes have been so infinitely multiplied that even if there were any recognised principle of precedence the nuances of rank would be so slight that the places of the several castes could not be distinguished. But there is no such principle. Except the members of the admittedly degraded and depressed castes each Shūdra thinks or professes to think his caste better than his neighbour's. The Shanar claims to be Kayput. The Hammala and Pattinai growl that if they had their rights they would be recognised as Brahmans. But in this matter as in the matter of occupation, modern innovation has had its effect. Wealth means social pre-eminence in the India of 1881 nearly as much as it does in England. A Shūdra millionaire cannot be made a Brahman but he can purchase the services of Brahmans. A Brahman cannot eat with him but this is the Brahman's loss for the millionaire's rice is fair and his ghee unexceptable.

⁸⁷ The *Madras Census Report* vol. I p. 157 continues "Others are simply labourers and many of them by taking advances from their employers are still practically serfs of the soil and unable to extricate

of self-esteem and independence the Pallis have not been backward in denying such a statement as the one just made concerning their alleged condition of serfdom, and in urging their claims. They have thus lately presented to Government a petition in order to obtain certain concessions at Kāncīpuram, Śrirangam and Madras. They claim to be the descendants of Manimahamuni and, as what formerly belonged to them, demand the Dharmakartaship of the Elāmbārēsvarasvami-kōval in Kāncīpuram, and the censorship over the nine classes of people there, including in it even the chiefs of the Itankai and Valankai, &c., of the left and right hand people. The *Jātisangrahasāra* and the *Jātibhēdanūl* contain much valuable information on this topic, though no critical acumen has been exercised in arranging and verifying the evidence.

It is very unfortunate that hardly any question of historical interest which concerns the various classes of the population of this country is considered with impartiality. Class interest and caste pride prevent unbiassed inquiries and even-balanced decisions. The relations of the various agri-

themselves from the bondage of the landlord. In all respects, these people have the characteristics of aboriginal tribes. They are, as a rule, a very dark-skinned race, but good field laborers, excellent farm servants, and cultivators. They abound largely in the Tamil districts of Trichinopoly and Tanjore. The *Vannias*, like so many of the Sudra castes in the south, are striving to prove that their position in the caste system is a wrong one. In 1833 they attempted, in Pondicherry, to get a legal decision that they were not of a low caste, but the administration refused to deal with the question, on the ground that the Hindu law did not refer to the *Vannias* at all. There can be no doubt that when the aboriginal tribes ruled in South India, many *Vannias* raised themselves to the position of *Polygars*, or independent chiefs. The term *Naick* is usually affixed to the names of the *Vannias*, and the *Naicks* of Madura and Tinnevely were great men not very long ago. There are about thirty sub-divisions of the *Puliks*, named chiefly after their different occupations, but they may all eat together and some intermarry. The Census of 1881, in vol I, p 104, says "The Palli, once the Vellala's slave, is still working on the soil as a laborer and often as a proprietor. But the work of divorce between occupation and caste has not only begun, but has advanced, and is advancing."

cultural classes to one another are very strained, and the evidence which the one may supply with respect to the other should always be accepted with great caution. Thus the acrimonious dissensions which exist between the Pallis and Vellalar are a matter of deep regret, but they must be mentioned here to explain why certain statements concerning both cannot be admitted in an historical inquiry, as they are unsupported by facts and are tainted by prejudice.⁸⁸

The investigation which I am now making is *sine ira et studio*, and I trust it will be accepted as such by those who come within its range.

The difference which at an early stage divided the Pallar from the Pallis was, I believe, that the former confined themselves to the country, *pālayam*, while the latter congregated mostly in villages and towns. These were named *palli* (పల్లె) or *palli* (పల్లె) in contradistinction to the country or *Pālaiyam* (పాలையம்) in Tamil and *pāḷemu* (పాలెము) in Telugu. The feudal chieftains were called after the country Poligars.⁸⁹ The bulk of the Pallas, who lived as agricultural

⁸⁸ Compare "The Poyakharries versus Meerassidars, or the Revenue System of Madras," by A. Venkatachella Naicker, p. 9. Again, in the third place, Mr. Place states that the Pullees were servants of the Brahmins. Any thing more untrue could not be stated. The Pullees or Vunneers were not the servants of the Brahmins. They were formerly the ruling race of a very large portion of Southern India. The potentates, Sharen, Cholen, and Paundian were all Vunneers, and all the southern and western Poligars and Zemindars are, even at the present time, Vunneers; and on p. 12: In proof that the Pullees or Vunneers were the most powerful and most prevalent race in Southern India, there are the boundary stones which are marked with the Royal "wheel of mandate" an ensign of the royal descent of the Vunneers; also the inscriptions on the temples of Conjeeveram and in fact on the mantapams and other sacred shrines throughout the Chingleput district. Whilst the Vellalars had the mark of a trident on their boundary stones, and the boundary stones of the agraaharums bore the impression of a short Brahmin with an umbrella.

Consult about the Śasanams concerning the Vanniyar *Jātisagrakāṣṭra*, pp. 272, 376, &c.

⁸⁹ *Pāḷayakkāra* in Tamil and *Pāḷgāḍu* in Telugu. For *Pāḷemu*, encampment, baronial village, occurs in Telugu also the word *Velamu*.

labourers in the country, were, like our rustics, peasants or hoers, while the inhabitants of a villago or small town (*palli*, *palli*, *palle*, &c.), assuming the same name as the place they inhabited, became gradually urbane and polite citizens.⁹⁰

The Pallis generally worship in temples dedicated to *Dharmarāja*. In these temples are found the images of Yudhisthira (or Dharmarāja) and of his four brothers Bhīma, Arjuna, Nakula, and Sahadēva, of Draupadī, of Kṛṣṇa, and occasionally of Pōtarāja (also *Pōtarāju* in Telugu and *Pōtappa* in Kanarese). The head of Irāvāt, the son of Arjuna and Ulūpi, who, according to popular tradition, was killed on the day preceding the battle as an oblation to the battle-field, and whose head looked on the fight for eighteen days, is often exhibited on a pole during the festival. The *Mahābhārata* fixes the death of Irāvāt on the eighth day of the battle. A Palli is, as a rule, the *pūjāri* or priest of the shrine. The above-mentioned *Pōtarāja* is a rustic god revered especially in the Telugu, Kanarese, and Marāthi districts, and his wives are known as Goāgammā, Pōlakammā or Pōlērammā (the goddess of small-pox), &c.

At the great annual festival in honor of Dharmarāja, or the local god or goddess, people walk over burning coals, in order to testify their purity of mind.

The worship of Dharmarāja is very popular; it is, perhaps, the most widely spread in this country. Over 500 Dharmarāja temples exist in South-Arct alone. The villago goddess is occasionally called Draupadī, and, even where she has a name of her own, she is often merely a substitute for the wife of the Pāṇḍavas. The popularity which the latter enjoy among the lower classes of the inhabitants throughout India is very significant, inasmuch as it is in opposition to *Bhīma*, the favorite hero and divine represent-

⁹⁰ Compare the meaning of *polys* and *polys*—citizen, polite, clever, from *polys*, town, in Sanskrit; with *politeia* from *polis* in Greek, and *urbane* from *urbs* in Latin.

In Chingleput and its neighbourhood the Pallis add to their name the title of *Nayakar* or leader, which term is synonymous with the Telugu *Nayadu* and the Malayalam *Nayar*. Those in Tanjore and its neighbourhood prefer the Tamil title *Padaiyaccu* (படையாட்சு),⁹² army leader, which has the same meaning as *Nayakar*, while others in Coimbatore, Salem, North and South-Arcot call themselves, like the neighbouring hill men, *Kaundar* (கௌண்டர் or கவண்டர்). I connect this word with the root *ko*, and derive it from *konda*, mountain, and if this etymology is right, it shows that these Pallis have preserved in their name some recollection of their original habitat.

Pandavas'—I have mentioned the names of the worshippers in order to prove that they are Pallis (*Nayakar*) and *Padaiyaccu*.

Read also 'The Village Feast' by Captain J S F Mackenzie in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol III, pp 69 and "Passing through Fire," by Mr M J Walhouse, late M C S, in the *Indian Antiquary* vol VII pp 126-129.

'When not done in discharge of vows made in time of sickness or disaster, the fire walking seemed to be performed (generally in March and June) in most places in honour of Virabhadra, the portentous flame-clad progeny of Siva who is especially feared as presiding over family discord and misfortune, or else of Dharmaraja the elder Pandava, to whom there are five hundred temples in South Arkat alone, and with whom and Draupadi the ceremony has some particular association. In Ganjam and Maishr it is performed in honour of a village goddess, and every where seems connected with aboriginal rites and Siva worship, Bráhmans always disowning it.' I myself witnessed this fire-treading in June 1880 in Coimbatore. With respect to the sun worship previously mentioned on p 62 as peculiar to the Scythians it should be remembered that Draupadi prayed twice to the sun god for assistance. Concerning the explanation of Mahamallapura I may also add that I regard *Mallapura* as the original form of *Mallayur* in Madras. These names will be considered in the last part of this treatise.

⁹² The higher castes are often anxious to enhance their superiority at the expense of their inferiors, whom they ridicule. To this tendency must be ascribed many expressions which reflect on the language used by Pariahs, Pallar, Pallis and *Padaiyaccu*. The word *Padaiyaccu* is derived from *padai* and *accu*, which originally signified *Army ruling*. Its more correct spelling is *Padaiyaccu* படையாட்சு.

The Rev J R Loventhal of Vellore informs me that the hill people near Vellore insist on being addressed as *Ganjan* and *Ganjal*, and that they feel insulted when called *Ayya* or *Amma*. He tells me also that many Pallis adopt now the title *Mudaliyar*. Occasionally the term *Kaundar* is used by Pulayar and Capdalis.

The few necessities which in India suffice to sustain life, the simplicity of manners, and similarity of external wants create a great uniformity in the habits and mode of living among the population. In this respect there is less difference, perhaps, between the rich and the poor in India than elsewhere. The dwelling places are pretty much the same in villages as in towns, and architectural ambition displays itself mostly in the erection of the temples devoted to the gods, or the palaces occupied by the kings. Difference in population—irrespective of caste, religion, and occupation—forms, therefore, in India the most striking distinction between village and town. In these circumstances even speech does not, as a rule, distinguish between them, and in the Dravidian languages the same expressions *palli* (*palli*, *halli*, &c.) and *ū* (*ūru*, &c) are applied both to village and town.

DIFFERENT MEANINGS OF THE WORD *PALLI*.

The word *Palli* has also various other meanings. In towns, and even in small villages, where people congregate in greater numbers, such buildings and institutions as temples and schools are more easily and more appropriately founded than in a lonely and sparsely populated country. These establishments are accordingly called after the place in which they are erected. The Buddhist and Jain missionaries were probably the first preachers and religious teachers who devoted themselves to the indigenous population and who succeeded in their efforts to win by their sympathy the affection of the masses. This may be the reason why a temple, more particularly if Buddhist and Jain, is called *palli*.

Everything connected with royalty has the term *palli* prefixed to it in Malayalam as *pallakōṭṭakam*, a royal palace, *pallimetta*, a royal bed, *pallurāḷ*, a royal sword, *pallirēṭṭa*, a royal chase, &c.²⁵ This expression is very peculiar indeed,

²⁵ In Tamil the word *palli* is at times also used in the sense of *royal*, thus *palliyarai*, like the Malayalam *palliyara*, denotes the royal bed-chamber,

and seems to prove that the recollection of the splendour and power of the ancient *Pallas* or *Pallis* had not died out in the minds of the people when these words came into use.

The Buddhist missionaries, who propagated throughout India the precepts of their master, spoke and wrote a Prākṛitised form of Sanskrit. This became gradually the sacred language of the Buddhists, and from India it was, together with the Buddhistio faith, introduced into Ceylon. Though this idiom differed widely from the language which the Dravidian Pallas spoke in those days, in the same way as the priestly Latin differed much from the vernaculars of Northern Europe into which it spread with the progress of Christianity, yet, as the Buddhistio religion came to Ceylon from the country inhabited mostly by Pallas, or in whose towns and temples—*Paḷli* or *Pah*—it had found a firm abode, the dialect in which the sacred books reached Ceylon was likewise called *Pāli* after them.

EXPLANATION OF THE WORDS PĀNDYA, VELLĀLA, BALLĀLA,
BRILLĀLA.

The Pallar and Pallis claim, as has been previously pointed out, kinship with the kings who ruled over them, *i.e.*, with the Pāṇdyas and Pallavas. It has been proved that a philological connection can be established between the words *Palla*, *Palli* and *Pallava*, and no great difficulty will be experienced in extending it to the name of the Pāṇdyas.

The *Pāndyas* of Southern India have been linked by legends with the *Pāṇḍavas* of the North. According to the *Hārivamśa* (XXXII, 123), *Pāṇḍya*, together with *Kēraṭa*, *Yśai*, and *Uśai*, was a descendant of the famous king *Draṇyuta*, the husband of *Śakuntalā* and father of *Bharata*. *Arjuna* meets and fights in his adventures for the *Aśvamedha* with

while *paṭṭallaṣayaṭṭa* is the common sleeping room. Compare *paṭṭa* with *paṭṭa* in the sense of a royal title the *Jātasaṅgrahasaṭṭa*, p. 251.

his son *Babhravāhana*, the king of Manipura, which place I have identified with Madura.⁹⁴

The legend of the king Vijaya of Lankā is likewise mysteriously and intimately connected with the Pāṇḍavas. He is reported to have wedded a daughter of the Pāṇḍava king of the southern Mathurā, and, as he had from her no offspring, to have invited his nephew from the Indian continent to become his successor. This nephew, *Pāṇḍuramaśālēra*, married, in his turn, the princess Bhadrakāñcana, the daughter of *Pāṇḍu-Sākya* and grand-cousin of Buddha, who had drifted in a boat with her 32 lady companions to Lankā and arrived providentially just in time to marry the king.⁹⁵

But there exist also other legends which do not mention this connection between the Pāṇḍavas of the North and the Pandyas in the South. Among these is one which ascribes the colonisation and civilisation to a northern *Vellāḷan* named *Madura Pāṇḍiyan*, who, on his pilgrimage to Ramēśvara, observed the great fertility of the *Dandaka* forest and determined to settle in it. He returned to his own town, came back to the South with his family and dependents, cleared the country and erected on the banks of the *Vaiḷai* river his capital, which he called after himself Madura. The neighbouring Maravar assisted him much in the cultivation of the country and foundation of his capital. *Madura Pāṇḍiyan* ruled according to this account 50 years after his arrival, and died 90 years old. He was succeeded by his son *Candrapāṇḍiyan*, who reigned 40 years. *Malayādīajapāṇḍiyan* and *Alakapāṇḍiyan* are mentioned as the next kings.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ See my monograph "On the Weapons of the Ancient Hindus," pp 145-152.

⁹⁵ See Lassen's *Ind. Alterth.*, vol II, pp 95-111.

⁹⁶ See "Historical Sketch of the Kingdom of Pandya," by Horace Hayman Wilson, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of G. B. and I.*, vol III, pp 199-242, 1836, reprinted in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, vol VI, pp 176-216, and H. H. Wilson's Supplementary Note in the *Madras Journal*, vol VI, pp 217-220. Compare also Rev William Taylor's *Oriental Historical Manuscripts*, Madras, 1835, in two volumes, and

Though some have proposed to derive the name *Pandya*

his *Observations on Professor Wilson's Historical Sketch* in the same volume of the *Madras Journal*, pp 149 157 H H Wilson had said in the *Royal Asiatic Society's Journal*, vol III, p 201, and in the *Madras Journal*, vol VI p 177 that "an adventurer, named Pandya of the Vellalar or 'agricultural tribe, first established himself in that portion of the south to which his name was afterwards assigned" See also Wilson's *Mackenzie Collections* Introduction p 45, and *Tamil Books*, p 203 (new edition)

The Rev W Taylor took exception to these statements in his *Oriental Historical Manuscripts*, vol II, pp 73 74, and its Appendix pp 35 and 39, and animadverted on Wilson's want of acquaintance with the Tamil language (p 63) to which charges Wilson replied in his *Supplementary Note* The Rev W Taylor admitted the error of indulging in strong language, but maintained (on p 144) that "*Vada desattilala pandiyan-akira vellala* han might have been still better and more accurately rendered "an ancient agriculturist in (r of) the north country" and (on p 149) that "there is however, throughout no mention of this person's proper name" In both these statements Taylor is not quite correct *Akura* means here 'called' for in the same manuscript occur repeatedly such phrases as *Iramanalaravardd* the king called Rama or *Sitayakura penca* the wife called Sita

The Tamil manuscript in question is the *Pantiyamantalam Cōlamantalam pūreilarajacariyavolunku* in the Government Oriental Manuscript Library No 241, in Wilson's *Mackenzie Collections* Tamil Local History No 4, and in W Taylor's *Catalogue Raisonné*, vol III, p 88 No 2322 On p 4a the *pandiyan* is first mentioned as follows அப்படியே வடதேசத்திலுள்ள பாண்டியனாகிற வெள்ளாளனிந்த ராமேசுவரயாத் திரைக்குப்புறப்படடு வந்தான் (Appāṭṭiye vaṭṭeṭṭeṭṭilulla Pantīyan akura Vellālan inta Rāmeśvayatharaiṭṭu purappaṭṭu vantaṇ) The translation of which sentence is "Thus having started came on a pilgrimage to Rāmeśvara a Vellālan named Pāṇḍiya, who lived in the northern country" Again on p 6b இப்படி யரசன பாண்டியன் போ மதுரநாயக பாண்டியன் அவன் முதலுண்டு பண்ணின் பட்டணத்துக்குத்தன் பேரைத்தான் வைத்தது மதுராபுரி யென்றும் மதுரைநகரென்றும் பேரிட்டு பின்னு மதேசப் பட்டணங்களை யுமுண்டு பண்ணினான் (Ippaṭṭi yaracan Paṇṭīyan pēr Maturāṇayaka Pāṇṭīyan avan mutal uṭṭu paṇṇina paṭṭaṇattukku taṇ pērai taṇe vantaṭṭu Maturāpuri yenrum Maturānakarenrum pēriṭṭu pinnum aṇēṭṭappaṭṭaṇṭakalaiyum uṭṭu paṇṇināṇ) or in English "Thus this Pāṇḍiya king called Maturapāṇḍīyan having given to the town he founded first his own name and having named it Maturāpuri or Maturainagar, established afterwards many towns" The founder of the Cola kingdom, *Tōya man Nallu* is also called a Vellālan see p 6h Compare Lassen's *Indische Alterth* vol II p 108 Mr J H Nelson remarks in his *Manual of Madras* Part III, p 44 "The story of the man of Oude may doubtless be found in certain Hindū writings but I do not believe it is traditional in the country to which it relates And the Pandya kings of the lunar race are commonly believed to be of the Kshatriya, not of the Vellāla or any

directly from Pandu and some have ventured other explanations, I believe that none are generally accepted as correct.⁹¹

I do not flatter myself that I have solved the difficulty, but merely hazard a new conjecture. I suggest that the word *Pāndi* (பாண்டி), which is specially applied to the ancient kingdom of Madura, and the term *Pāndiyan* (பாண்டியன்), which denotes the king who ruled over it, the *Pandiōn*, Πανδιών of Ptolemy, VII, 1, 11, are contracted forms for *Pallandi* and *Pallāndiyan*. The king of Madura, the Perumal of the Pandiyanas, was regarded as the most powerful king of Southern India, and as such he might well have been named after the people over whom he ruled. The word *Pallāndiyan*, the king of the Pallas, was contracted into *Pāndiyan* as *Tiruvallānkōdu* has become *Tiruvāṅkōdu*, &c.⁹² *Andi* (ஆண்டி) and *āndatan* (ஆண்டலன்), ruler, come from

agricultural caste." Compare also Part II, p. 31. Already the Rev W Taylor has pointed out that Oude is not mentioned as Pandya's, but only as Rama's home. Whatever is the right extraction of the Vellalar, they as well as their Telugu relatives, the Velamas regard themselves as Kṣatriyas. The Rev J F Kearns in *The Tribes of South India*, Madras, 1860, alludes to the tradition that the Reddies of Tinnevely derive their origin from Oude, for he says on p. 8 "There is, however, a circumstance connected with the Reddies which in some degree appears to impart an air of probability at least to the legend, namely, all the Reddies in the province style themselves *Oude* Reddies, and assert that Oude is the native country of their tribe."

⁹¹ Compare Lassen's *Ind. Alterth.*, vol II, p. 102, and Bishop Caldwell's Introduction to his *Comparative Dravidian Grammar*, p. 10. "The Sanskrit Pandya is written in Tamil Paṇḍiya, but the more completely Tamilised form Paṇḍi is still more commonly used all over Southern India. I derive Paṇḍi not from the Tamil and Malayalam *paṇḍu*, ancient, though that is a very tempting derivation, but—as native scholars always derive the word—from the Sanskrit *Paṇḍu*, the name of the father of the Paṇḍava brothers. This very form *Pandya*, in the sense of a descendant of Paṇḍu, is mentioned, as I am informed by Professor Max Muller, by Katyāyana, the immediate successor of Pāṇini."

⁹² Compare *A History of Travancore*, by P. Shungoonny Menon, p. 2. "Thiruvāṅcode instead of Sreevalamcode." *Tiruvāṅkōdu* is a wrong conjecture.

Not far from *Tiruvallānkōdu* lies *Tiruvāṅkōdu*, both localities being intimately connected with each other in the history of Travancore. I have also strong reasons to suppose that the name of *Tiruvāṅgaḍu* near Tellicherry is the same as that of *Tiruvāṅgaḍu* near Calcutta. Both places have celebrated temples. That of the latter belongs to the Zamorin. I regard the usual

the Dravidian root *aḷ*, to rule. If we admit that names in common use are more subject to change than other words, the alteration from *andaran* to *andiyan* can be easily accounted for. Yet even this modification is not absolutely necessary, as *andiyan* can also be formed by adding the pronominal affix *an* to *andi* ²³

The root *aḷ* is also used in the formation of other similar words, e.g., in *Vāḷḷala* (*Vellāḷa*), *Baḷḷala*, *Bhillaḷa*, &c., and indicates a person of influence among or a lord of the Vallas, Ballas, and Bhillas, which names were originally identical with the name of the Pallas.

The *Vellāḷan* is thus the territorial lord of the despised *Pallan*, and though both were originally intimately connected with each other, the institution of caste seems to have parted them for good. The relation of the *Pallan* to the *Vellāḷan* was that of serf to the owner of the soil, like what existed in Russia, where both, serf and master, belong to the same nation. The abbreviated form of *Vellāḷan* is *Vellāl*. It is dialectically changed in Kanarese into *Bellāl* and is applied to the landowning agriculturist of Konara. The Toda words *Pālāl*, the milkman or priest, and *Kāḷāl*, herdsman, are similarly formed. *Vellāḷan* is also contracted into *Vellan*

derivation of *cala* in Tiruvāṅgaḍa from the Sanskrit word *calaya*, bracelet, and the legend connected with this *calaya* as a later invention.

Some time ago advised by a friend I visited *Gāḍuvāñcēri*, a small station on the South-Indian Railway, between Pallavaram and Chingleput, in search of some old tombs. Nobody in *Gāḍuvāñcēri* was acquainted with these remains. I found them on the slope of a hill near the hamlet *Vallāñcēri*, whence the old now deserted village *Pallāñcēri* was pointed out to me. I was further told that *Gāḍuvāñcēri* was formerly called *Putuvāñcēri* or *New Vāñcēri*. In this case *Vāñcēri* should be regarded as a contraction of *Vallāñcēri*.

Sir A. Cunningham identifies in vol. IX, p. 56 of the *Arch. Surv. of India*, *Bāṇḍogarh* with the *Balantipurgon* of Ptolemy, and this derivation is repeated in vol. XXI, p. 92. "Mr. Carleyle also suggests that Ptolemy's "fort of Balantipurgon, which I have identified with Bāṇḍogarh, may have "derived its name from the Balands."

²³ See note 16 about *Subrahmanya* being called *Paḷani*, *Āṇḍi*, or *Paḷani*, *Āṇḍaiyar*.

As the Vellalar are essentially agriculturists and live upon the produce which they derive from cultivation, agriculture is called in Tamil and in Malayalam *tellānmai* or *vellayma*. The Tamil word *Vellānmai* is a compound of *Vellal* and *mai*, the affix indicating abstract nouns. It means Vellālan-ship or the occupation and position of a Vellālan or cultivator. It may perhaps be necessary to add that the terms *Vellalan* and *Vellanna* are hardly ever used in Malabar, except in Palghāt, which, as a border district between the Tamil and Malayalam speaking population, contains many Tamil words. It is customary to derive the name of the *Vellālan* from *tellānmai*, i.e., the name of the cultivator from the work of cultivation to which he is devoted, but I regard this explanation as erroneous. The Telugu representative of the Tamil *Vellālan* is the *Velama* (Vellama), and if *tellānmai*, agriculture, were derived from a common Dravidian root, a representative of this word should be found in all or most Dravidian languages. It is most probably not indigenous in Malayalam, nor does it exist in Telugu, where we find words like *lapu* denote a cultivator and *sāgu* cultivation. The *Velama* is the baron, the *grand-seigneur*, in the Telugu country. Most of the Telugu Rājas belong to the Velama caste. The identity of Velama and Pallava has been already established by me. The *Vellālar* of Malabar are called *Nāyar*, which word means, as we have seen, *ruler*. This circumstance is very significant, as the term Vellālan, according to my explanation, designates also a ruler.¹⁰⁰

¹⁰⁰ The derivation of *Vellanna* is very uncertain. The Tamil pundits propose different explanations, a sure indication of their uncertainty. Some derive the word from *vel*, benefit, and wish to write it accordingly *Vellanma*; others prefer *Vellam*, abundance, &c. The Vellālar are cultivators. Cultivation in India generally divided into *dry* cultivation, which is applied in higher levels and in places which depend entirely on the rain-fall, and into *wet* cultivation, which is carried on by means of irrigation chiefly from tanks. These two kinds of cultivation are called in Tamil *puncney* (or *puñcay*) and *nancy* (ಪುಂಕನೈ or *puñcay*), in Telugu *metta* and *pallam* from *pallam*, plain, and in Kanarese *beṭṭa* and *halla*. *Pal* and *nal* mean bad and good, *puñcay* is a sterile field for dry grains and *nancy* a

The name of the Ballalas is well known by the dynasty which brought it into prominence, and to which I have alluded previously

rice field The Telugu and Kanarese expressions denote high land and low land The high land for want of irrigation produces generally poorer crops than the well irrigated low land *Vellam* in Tamil, *Vellu* in Telugu, and *Bolla* in Tulu denote as in the other Dravidian languages *flood* and *inundation* No inundation can be without water, and in Malayalam *Vellam* seems to mean also water, but this appears not to be the case in Tamil and Telugu Mr Nelson has in his laborious *Manual of Madura* first proposed to derive *Vellannai* from *vellam* and *annai* He says in Part II, p 31 "The Tamil mode of spelling the word Vellalan is வெள்ளாளன், and as Vellannai, வெள்ளாளன்மை, is the word commonly used to express the act of "cultivating (strictly, ruling or managing irrigation), it is but natural to "infer that Vellalan means a cultivator or irrigator of rice fields, rather "than a man of a particular tribe or country" This derivation has been accepted by some authors generally without giving Mr Nelson credit for it, but it is not known to the Tamil pandits whom I have consulted, and is repudiated by them Dr Gundert, who gives in his *Malayalam and English Dictionary* *water* as a meaning of *vellam*, does not connect it with the word *vellannai* which he places under *vellan*, a true man *Vellannai* is also in Dr Winslow's *Tamil and English Dictionary* not derived from "*vellam* an inundation, a flood, a deluge, a strong current" It cannot be denied that it is grammatically possible to derive *vellannai* from *vellam* and *annai*, but as *vellannai* in this sense denotes only wet cultivation or irrigation, and the Vellalan, as every agriculturist uses both dry and wet cultivation, this name would be inappropriate if applied to him Curiously enough dry cultivation prevails if I am not wrongly informed, in the wet districts on the West Coast of South India where, owing to the heaviness of the rain, no tank irrigation is necessary The derivation from *Pallan* and *alai* as the master of the Pallar or agricultural labourers seems simpler and more preferable My conjecture is supported by the Tamil and Malayalam term *Vellai*, a slave girl, a female servant The meaning of this expression has not been explained so far as my knowledge goes, but is clear, if it is considered to denote a Pallar woman, a woman of the servile class (வெள்ளை + ஈசை) In this particular instance *alai* signifies woman in general, as *alai* does also occasionally mean servant or slave *Ai* occurs in a similar, though more respectable, sense in *manaiyai*, housewife, and *peiyai*, wife The feminine of *Vellalan* is *Vellalai* The truth of the saying *Urus tyrannus* manifests itself peculiarly in this case I may add that even my derivation of *Vellannai* contains the word *annai* as formed from *ai* + *mai*

The Purana of Tirukalukunram near Chingleput, also known as *Pakirttham*, mentions 24 classes of Vellalar They are generally divided in three great sections in Gangakulatar, Indrakulatar, and Mankulatar Of the 63 Alvar 13 are Vellalar Mr Nelson has in his *Manual*, II, pp 27-37 collected a great deal of information about them Compare also "Notes

The Bhillalas are the chiefs among the Bhillas or Bhils, some of whom are regarded as the offspring of Rajput men and Bhil women.¹⁰¹

The similar formation of all these words tends much to prove the correctness of my conjecture, and as according to my explanation the meaning of *Pāṇḍiyan* as *Pallāṇḍiyan* is identical with that of *Vellālan*, the legend which assigns to the *Vellālan*, who founded the celebrated kingdom of Madura in Southern India, the name of *Pāṇḍiyan* or of ruler of the Pallas, may be considered as by no means irrelevant evidence in support of my theory.

on Castes in Southern India," by Mr. J. A. Boyle, in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. III (1874), pp. 267-269.

As *Paḷamu* is identical with *Velamu*, baronial village, so is *Velama* originally synonymous with *Paḷegaḍu*. About the Vellamas compare Rev. John Cain's article in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VIII, p. 216.

¹⁰¹ Compare also *Indian Antiquary*, vol. III, p. 208, and IV, pp. 338 and 339.

PART II.

THE GAUDIANS.

CHAPTER VII.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.

HAVING in the first part of my work treated of the Dravidians, I have now to deal with the other aboriginal tribes of India, whom I have classed together under the name of Gaudian. As already intimated, I derive the term *Gaudian* from the root *ko*, mountain.

This word *ko* or *ku* is of the old Turanian stock. It is still extent in the Tamil *கோ*, *ko*, mountain, and can be easily recognized in many expressions found in Telugu, Gondi, and other kindred dialects. Among words which perhaps are related to it is the Persian *کوه* (*koḥ*, *kūh*), or *کوه* (*koḥ*, *kūh*) mountain; for Persian, I would remark, contains a considerable number of Turanian words which have their representatives in the Gauda-Dravidian dialects of India. The Sanskrit word *gō* has many different meanings, most of which are also expressed by its Tamil tatsamam *ko*, but *gō* in Sanskrit does not; so far as my knowledge goes, signify mountain, while, as already indicated, *ko* occurs in Tamil in the sense of mountain. As the root *ko* can be traced in other Gauda-Dravidian dialects as synonymous with mountain, it is pretty clear that the Tamil *ko*, mountain, is a separate word not identical with the term *ko*, denoting cow, &c.; and that it is not of Sanskrit but of Gauda-Dravidian origin.¹

¹ About the derivation of Gaudian from *ko*, see p. 13. *Tatsamam* is a word introduced from Sanskrit into an Indian vernacular with little or no change.

The word *ko* is found in *Kōḥ*, *Kōya*, *Kōyā* and *Kōḍu*, &c., which mean in Telugu and Gondi a mountaineer or Gend; also in *Kōna*, mountain-glen, or

The Gauda-Dravidian numerical roots *o*(*ɪ*) one, and *mū*, three, are found in Tamil as *onru* (*oru* and *onnu*) and *mūnru*, in Malayalam as *onnu* and *mūnnu*, in Telugu as *ondu* and *mūdu*, in Kanarese as *ondu* and *mūru*, in Tulu as *oñi* and *mūji*, in Mādi as *undi* (*wandi*) and *mundu*, in Gondi as *undi* and *mūnu* (*mund*), in Kargi as *ondu* and *mundu*. In a similar manner the root *ko* (*ku*), mountain, has developed in Tamil into *kunru*, *kunram*, and *landam*, in Malayalam into *kunnu*, *kunnam*, and *luru*, in Telugu into *konda*, *gundu* and *gutṭa*, in Kanarese into *gudda*, in other dialects into *lundu*, &c. The tribal names *Koracaru* and *Koravararu*, mountaineers, permit the assumption of a root *lorə*.² The fact that lingual and dental letters are promiscuously used in these formations, is rather peculiar. Lingual and dental affixes must have been indiscriminately employed in Dravidian languages for the construction of words; thus *ondu* signifies one (and *onṭi*, single)

dale The term *ku* is preferred by the Khonds, for Colonel John Campbell states on p. 13 in his *Personal Narrative of Service among the Wild Tribes of Khondistan* "The hill districts of Orissa are peopled generally by Khonds or Kus, as they call themselves"—The name of the *Koyand*, one of the seven rivers which flow from the Mahābalesvara mountain, is "derived either from Kuvana, or from *Koḥ*, a primitive term signifying a mountain." See *Bombay Asiatic Journal*, vol. IX, p. 253. With respect to the New-Persian and Farsi *koḥ*, mountain, I should mention that *lanṣa*, mountain, occurs in the cuneiform inscriptions of the Persian king Darius at the Behistūn. In Huzvāresh mountain is *kuph*. Yet it is not impossible that in spite of this fact, the word *ko* (*ku*) may also in this case be originally Non Aryan.

Only where Tamil letters actually occur, they are transcribed according to the principle contained in note 1 on p. 3.

² Rev. Dr. Gundert in his *Malayalam and English Dictionary* presupposes a root *o*. Bishop Caldwell while advocating in his *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages* on pp. 217-223, the assumption of a basis *or*, writes on p. 220 "Dr. Gundert considers *ondru* an euphonised form of *on*, with the addition of *du*, the neuter formative, and that *on* and *or* are equivalents, being both verbal nouns from *o*, to be one. It is quite true that such a verb as *o* exists, that *n* or *on*, alternating with *am*, is used as a formative by many nouns, and that *n* sometimes changes into *or* or alternates with *r* or *ɾ*." And on p. 222 "There is a verbal root in Tamil *o*, which has been supposed to mean, to be one. *On* and *or* (*ondru* and *oru*) are supposed by Dr. Gundert to be verbal nouns from this *o*. An undoubted derivative of *o* in Tamil and Malayalam is *okka*, which in Malayalam and the Tamil of the extreme south 'altogether,' 'all' (compare Mordvin *vol*, all), and this is supposed

in Kanarese corresponding to the Telugu *ondu*, and in Telugu *Kodu* and *Göndu* mean a Khond, while their equivalents in Sanskrit are *Könda* and *Gönda*, to which corresponds the Telugu *Kondarudu* ³

The addition of these lingual and dental affixes with or without a nasal, is a peculiarity of the Gauda-Dravidian languages.⁴ The change of *l* into the other gutturals *lh*, *g*, and *gh*, or perhaps more properly the interchange between them, need hardly be mentioned, being of such frequent occurrence; nor is it necessary to draw attention to the resemblance in the pronunciation of the vowels *a*, *u* and *o*, and to their being promiscuously used the one for the other, *e g*, in *Kudaku* and *Kodaku*, the name of the province Kurg, in *Kuravañi* or *Körañi*, a common expression for a female gipsy.⁵

The names of most of the Gaudian races are formed from the above-given variations of *lo*, a circumstance which explains the very considerable differences occasionally

by Dr Gundert to be identical with the Telugu *ola*, one. Every step in this process, with one exception, is encumbered with difficulties. The question is still very doubtful, and can be hardly ever settled. Bishop Caldwell himself admits on p. 220 that "or, in its primitive, unnasalised shape, is not now found in the cultivated Dravidian dialects as the first abstract neuter noun of number for one or unity." The Rev F Kittel seems to agree with the Bishop as he writes in his "Notes concerning the Numerals of the Ancient Dravidians" in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol II, p. 24. "1, *ondu*, *onru* (pronounce *ondu*), *oñi*, *or*, *or*, *om*, *on*, *ondu*, *ottu*, to be undivided, to be one. A unit without a branch." * * "When the affix *du* is joined to a short monosyllabic root with final *r*, the root in this case being *or*, this liquid is sometimes changed into the Bindu. Observe *du* has become *ju* (in *Tulu*)"

³ *Kodu*, steep, *loñu*, peak, and similar words belong to this group. *Ku* and *gö* denote in Sanskrit earth, hence *luñila* mountain (a peg or pin of the earth). Whether any connection exists between the Sanskrit *kūṣa*, mountain, fort, *kūṣṭāra* and *kūṣṭra*, mountain, *kūṣa*, mountainpeak, *lōṭa*, fort, and *loṣṭa*, end, &c, and some Gauda-Dravidian words of similar sound and same meaning is now very difficult to decide. Except *kuta*, which occurs already in the Rgveda, none of these Sanskrit terms are found in very ancient works.

⁴ It is thus conspicuous in the formation of some irregular plurals in Telugu.

⁵ See p. 84

noticeable in their outward appearance. People resort in private life to a variety of names in order to facilitate distinction between kindred individuals, families and clans. The same name is often borne by various tribes who, though originally akin to one another, dwell separately in distant places of the large Indian continent. Some tribal terms originally unobjectionable have had attributed to them in course of time a disparaging meaning,—such terms, for instance, as *Pariah* and *Candala*. Yet, neither individuals nor races should be despised simply for the name they bear, particularly, if it is uncertain whether any stigma can be attached to them on that account. This caution should be strictly observed, especially as identical terms have often different significations in the various districts and separate communities of so vast a country as India.

APPLICATION OF THE TERM GAUDIAN

I am aware that it is impossible to be too cautious in drawing up such lists as the following, the more so if they are the first of their kind, but one must guard as much against mistakes of omission as of commission. It is preferable, I believe, in a research like this, to make at first comprehensive statements, and to leave to the competent critic the task of pruning them.

I regard under these circumstances the following tribes and races as belonging to the Goudian division —the Kōi (Kui, Ku, Kotal, Kōya, Kōyi), Kōdu and Gōndu or Konda (Khondo, Kundo, Kovundo, Gauda, Gondā, and Gaundo) or Kanda (Khandā, Kandara, Canla, and Candāla), Toda, Kōta, Kodaga, Koraga, ¹ ~~Koraga~~, ² ~~Koraga~~, Koracaru (Korcaru, Korsaru, Kuri), ³ ~~Korama~~, Kuruva (Kuru Yeral), Kurmi, Kunnuru &c.

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to prove such a connection always *Tribal* names such as —Gauda, Gaudaka, Gonda, Kandōla, Khanda, Candāla, Kontala, Kundala, Kuntala, Kunthaka, Kunti, Kuntika, Kurata, Kōnvaśira, Kōla, Kōlvagireya, Cola (Coda), &c The following names of *men* Kunda, Kundika, Kundina, Kōla, Cola, &c, of *women* Kundalā, Kunti, &c, of *countries* Gauḍa, Khāndava, Kunti, &c, of *mountains* Kunda, Kundōda, Kuranga, Kōnva, Kōlagiri (Kollagiri), Kolahala, &c; of *streams* Kundalā, &c; of *forests* Gondavana (Gondavara), Khāndava, &c, of *plants* Kunda (or *Malli*, jasmine), Kundali (mountain ebony); and of *towns* — Gauda (Gōnda), Gaura, Khāndavaprastha, Kundaprastha, Kundāgni, Kundina(pura), &c⁶

Ptolemy mentions among Indian tribes the Gonds as Kandaloī (VII, 1, 66)⁷ Strabo speaks of the country Gandaris or Gandaritū⁸ in the north-west of India, while Ptolemy distinguishes (VI, 12, 4) between the Kandaroi in Sogdiana

⁶ *Ko jati* is a term generally given to the *Ko* tribe. In the July number, 1837, of the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, the Rev William Taylor remarks as follows on page 17 “In the title to Mr Stevenson’s paper on their customs they (the Khoonds) are styled *K’o* or *Codulu* and in Dr Maxwell’s list *Khoi jati*.”

It is perhaps not quite out of place to mention among the tribal names also the *Gandhara*, *Gāndhāra* or *Gandhārī* who appear in the *Bactrian* inscription among the subjects of Darius Hystaspes as *Ganddra*. If this is the case, the name of the Queen *Gāndhārī* would find a place among the female names connected with the Gaudians. Some connect the name of *Kandahar* with the *Gandharas* while others derive the name of the town *Kandahar* from Alexander the Great.

I omit to include above in the text the names of the other sons of *Dhrtarastra* — *Kundabhedra*, *Kuṇḍadhara*, *Kuṇḍaka*, *Kuṇḍasāyana* and *Kuṇḍodara*.

⁷ See p. 82 n. 70 — Christian Lassen used the edition of E. G. Willberg and wrote in vol. I, p. 113 (83) No. 2 “Ich lese mit Willberg *Gendaloī* statt *Kendaloī*.” I used C. F. A. Nobbe’s edition, which contains on p. 165 *Kāndaloī*.

⁸ See *Strabōnis Geographica recensuit G. Kramer* Berolini 1852, lib. XV, 1, 26 (Cassubonus p. 697). The *Choespes* (Attock) runs into the *Kōphes* (Cabul) near the town *Ptemyrion* after passing by *Gōrys* another city and going through *Bandobene* and *Gandaritis* and XV, 1, 30 (Cassubonus p. 699). Some call *Gandaris* the country subject to him (the nephew of Porus).

(VI, 12, 4) and the Gandarai (VII, 1, 44) between the Suastos and Indoe.⁹ The same geographer names also the Korankaloi (VII, 2, 15), who lived probably near the river Gandaki, which Plinius calls Condochates in his Natural History. Omitting a number of places, which may perhaps refer to the Gaudian population and are mentioned in the work of Ptolemy, I only draw attention to Kandipatua (VII, 1, 92), Kondota (VII, 1, 14), Kouta (VII, 1, 51), Kontakossyla emporion (VII, 1, 15), Koreur (VII, 1, 86), Korindur (VII, 1, 89), Korunkala (VII, 1, 93), and Kōrygaza (VII, 2, 14).¹⁰

EXPLANATION OF THE USE OF GAUDA (GAUDIAN) AS A TRIBAL NAME

The term Gauda (Gaudian) is now generally regarded as appropriate to North India, while Dravida is connected with South India. Neither term is used in its widest sense, for this division, though right in a general way, ignores the fact that many Gaudian elements are found in the south, while the north contains numerous Dravidian constituents. In fact both branches of the kindred stock exist side by side throughout the land. With this restriction, the use of both terms may be admitted.

The word *Gauda* is a derivative of the root *ko*, mountain, and its equivalents are *Goda* and *Gōnda*.¹¹ The substitution of *r* and *l* for *d* gives *Gaura* and *Gaula*, which five forms

⁹ Ptol VI 12 4. Εἰτα παρὰ τὰ Σόγδ' ἀπὸν Οὐξοδραγκαὶ καὶ Δρυβάρτα, καὶ Κόνδαροι and VII 1 44 Μεταξὺ δὲ τῶν Σουδωντῶν καὶ τῶν Ἰνδῶν Γαυδάρτα.

¹⁰ See O Plinii Secunda *Naturalis historiae* lib VI 22 'Ex his navigabiles praeter iam dictos Condochatem Eranobosum Cosogugum Sonum.' I have not included the *Gandaki* among the rivers as its name is generally derived from *ganḍaka* rhinoceros which are said to be found in it. I regard this etymology as doubtful.

¹¹ See General Sir Alexander Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey of India* vol I pp 327-328. 'In Uttara Kosala they (the districts) are *Gauda* (vulgarly *Gonda*) to the south of the Rapti and Kosala to the north of the Rapti. These apparent discrepancies are satisfactorily explained when we learn that *Gauda* is only a sub-division of Uttara Kosala and that the ruins

occur simultaneously. There is no reason for supposing that Gauda is an antiquated Sanskrit formation; it was originally not Sanskrit at all, though it was received in course of time into the Sanskrit vocabulary. So far from being antiquated, it is still used in popular language. The modern Gaḍas have formed themselves into a separate clan, the greater part of which dwells at present in Southern India. The chief of a village, even when the principal villagers do not belong to the Ganda caste, is in Mysore and its neighbouring districts now generally called the Gandan. It must not, however, be overlooked that in spite of this fact the term Gaḍa has a trihal meaning and was probably given to the headman of a village community in consequence of the honorable position the Gaḍas occupied in the estimation of the population. According to the last Census report 259,110 *Gaudas* live in Mysore alone, and 4,387 in the

of Srāvastī have actually been discovered in the district of *Gauda*, which is the Gonda of the maps. The extent of *Gauda* is also proved by the old name of Balrampur on the Rapti, which was formerly *Ramgarh Gauda*."

Compare also vol. XXI, p. 13. "*Gonda* (or *Goda*) is a large flourishing village. 13 miles from Karwa. To the east of the village, there is a pair of old temples, known as Chandeli Mandar, or the 'Chandeli temples,' as all the old buildings are designated throughout Bundelkhand." See further, vol. IX, p. 151. "The name of *Gond* is simply a corruption of *Gauda*. In the northern *Gauda*, or Uttara Kosala, the chief town is still named *Gauḍa*, which the Muhammadans before us corrupted to *Gonda*. On the finger-posts leading to the place, the Nagari गौड़ *Gauda* and the English *Gonda* are placed side by side. I spent several months in the Central Provinces, and I never once heard the aborigines called *Gond*, but always *Gor*. Now, as *Gauda* is a pure Sanskrit word, it would seem that this was not their true name, and that it must have been derived from the country in which they dwelt. This appears the more probable when we learn that they do not call themselves either *Gond* or *Gor*, but *Kōṣṭur*. It is also strongly confirmed by the fact that there are no *Gonds* in the northern *Gauda*, or Uttara Kosala, and none in the eastern *Gauda* or western Bengal. My explanation of *Gauḍa* as a geographical term, which gave its name to the *Gond* people, instead of having received it from them, is still confirmed by the fact that numerous temples which are said to have been built by the *Gonds*, were certainly not erected by them." Sir A. Cunningham overlooks that *Kōṣṭur*, the name which the *Gonds* gave to themselves, is in reality identical with *Gond*, see p. 143.

Bombay Presidency I am well aware of the fact that the term *Gauda* has often been derived from the Sanskrit *gô*, cow, but this I take to be a wrong derivation¹²

The name is found in fact all over India. That the terms *Gauda* and *Gonda* are synonymous is proved by the fact that the well-known district and its capital in Oudh are known both as *Gonda* and *Gauda*. True, the term *Gond* signifies now only a section of the Gandian population, but this affects neither its etymology nor the point at issue. On the contrary the common origin of both terms explains why one can be used for the other, or both for one and the same place or individual.

It is a curious coincidence that the national division of the Indian population into Gaudians and Dravidians was

¹² There are altogether 263,497 *Gaudas* and 161,353 *Gaudes* in India. About the *Gaudas* see Dr. Francis Buchanan's *Journey from Madras through the countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar*, second edition, vol. I pp. 187, 207, 208, 274, 338, 340, 367, 395 and 396. On p. 187 he remarks "The *Gauda*, called corruptly *Gaur*, and in the Mussulman language the *Polat*, is the chief *Eyat* or farmer, in the village and receives the whole dues of government. The office of *Gauda* was originally hereditary, but now these persons are appointed by the *Amildar* and continue in place so long as they keep up the collections to their supposed value, or until some other man undertakes, by bringing a greater number of farmers, to make the revenue more productive. The *Gauda* settles all disputes, in the same manner as hereditary chiefs of castes do." On pp. 207, 208, stands "The *Gaudas* here (in Colar) rent the villages, and every year make a new settlement with the *Amildar*, while they receive authority to take from the cultivators as much as they legally can. Some *Gaudas* rent two or three *Gramas*, or villages, but to each there is an hereditary *Gauda*, who receives the title." See p. 338. "In all this part (Bellary) of the country it has been customary, when a new village was founded for the person appointed to be hereditary *Gauda*, or chief, to place a large stone in or near the village. This stone is called the *Curavu Callu*, or calf-stone and is considered as representing the *Grāma Dēvaru*, or god of the village. The hereditary *Gauda* always officiates as *Pujari* or priest, and at the annual village feast, after having rubbed it with oil, offers a sacrifice with which he feasts his relations and the chief men of the place." On p. 274 we read "The proper *Curubas* have hereditary chiefs who are called *Gaudas*, whether they be head men of villages or not and possess the usual jurisdiction." See also p. 350. The title *Gaudan* is esteemed in Mysore. About the name *Kaundar*, see p. 99. As *Gauda* so has *Caul* been derived from *gô* cow, compare p. 141. About *Gaul*: see *Mysore Inscriptions* of L. Rice pp. 20, 45, &c.

adopted by the Aryan Brahmans after they had settled in Bharatavarsa, and like the Gaudians and Dravidians, the Gauda-Brahmans are mainly settled in the north, while the Dravida-Brahmans preponderate in the south. I have already alluded to this classification on pp 21 and 22.

The five divisions of the Gauda-Brahmans are, as previously mentioned, named respectively after the Sarasvati-river, Kanyakubja (the modern Kananj), Gauda, Utkala now known as Orissa, and Mithila.

When applied to Brahmans, many explain the term Gauda as describing those who lived near the celebrated ancient town of Gauda or Gaura, the ruins of which still excite the admiration of those who visit them. Others take Gauda as the kingdom of which Gaur was the capital.¹³ It appears somewhat improbable that the Brahmans, who came originally from the West, should have chosen for themselves a name from a locality so far remote in the East. This supposition becomes even less likely if one considers

¹³ Instead of Karpāṣa Kāśmīra is mentioned in the *Jatimālā*

See H T Colebrooke's *Enumeration of Indian Classes* in his miscellaneous Essays, vol II (1873), p 159 "In Jambu-dwipa, Brāhmanas are reckoned tenfold, Śāraswata, Kānyakubja, Gauda, Maithila, Utkala, Drāvīda, Mahārāshtra, Gujjara, and Kāśmīra, residing in the several countries whence they are named"

Read *Archæological Survey of India*, vol XV, p 39. "The great city of Gauda or Gaur, the capital of Balal Sen and his descendants . is not mentioned at all by Hwen Thsang (p 40) The name of the province in which Lakhnauti or Gaur was situated was Barbanda or Baranda At the same time we know that the Gaudas were a tribe, and that the Pala Rajas took the title of *Gaurendra* It seems certain therefore that the western part of the province at least must have been called Gauda or Gaur . (p 41) The name of Gauda or Gaur is, I believe, derived from Guda or Gur, the common name of molasses, or raw sugar, for which this province has always been famous In former days when the Ganges flowed past the city, Gaur was the great mart where all the sugar of the northern districts was collected for exportation"

This derivation of Gaur is also mentioned and recommended by others, but it is still doubtful Gaur or Lakhnauti lies in lat 24° 52' N, long 88° 10' E, in the Maldah district of Bengal

that some of the principal Gandian sub-divisions are named after such western districts, as Kanyakubja, or the country watered by the sacred Sarasvatī which loses itself in the deserts north of Rajputāna¹⁴ Some scholars even state that the Brahmans known as Ganda-Brahmans are not Bengalis, but inhabitants of Hindustan proper, who according to their own legends left Kanyakubja and emigrated to the East in the time of the Pandavas¹⁵

According to this tradition, the Kanyakubja Brahmans migrated to the Eastern Gauda at an early period, but the question when the division into Gauda and Drāvīda Brahmans took place, remains unanswered. Nor are we better able to decide the reason of this peculiar separation. The most probable explanation may be that the Brahmans simply adopted the division which they found existing among the original inhabitants in the midst of whom they settled. In that case we have no means of assigning an historical date to this event. If, as I suppose, the Gauda-Dravidian population existed in this dual state already in prehistoric times, it will be very difficult indeed to ascertain when the Brahmans adopted this classification in their community.

¹⁴ Compare H. H. Wilson's *Āshvamedha*, vol. II, p. 195, and Dr. John Wilson's *Indian Caste*, vol. II, pp. 121-139. "The Sarasvata Brahmans form the only class of natives of India now distinctly recognized as connected with the Sarasvata nation. They are found, not only in the Panjāb and Sindh, where they abound, but in Rajputāna, Gujarat, the North-West Provinces, and even, as we have seen, throughout the southern provinces of India" (pp. 125, 126). H. T. Colebrooke states in his *Miscellaneous Essays*, London, 1873, vol. II, p. 21: "The Sarasvata was a nation which occupied the banks of the river Sarasvatī. Brahmaṇas, who are still distinguished by the name of their nation, inhabit chiefly the Panjāb or Panchanada, west of the river from which they take their appellation."

¹⁵ See H. T. Colebrooke, *ibidem*, vol. II, p. 23, note 1. "It is necessary to remark, that though Gauda (Gauda) be the name of Bengal, yet the Brahmaṇas, who bear that appellation, are not inhabitants of Bengal, but of Hindustan proper. They reside chiefly in the Suba of Delhi, while the Brahmaṇas of Bengal are avowed colonists from Kanauj. It is difficult to account for this contradiction. The Gauda Brahmaṇas allege a tradition, that their ancestors migrated in the days of the Pāṇḍavas, at the commencement of the present Kali Yuga. Though no plausible conjecture can be formed on

Yet, considering that the Dravidians gravitated in the course of time towards the south, while the Gaudians preponderated in the north, and that the Brahmanic division corresponds with this fact, we may not err in assuming that the Brahmans introduced this arrangement among themselves after the Gauda-Dravidians had thus settled down in their respective places. However, even this supposition will not supply us with accurate dates, especially as Southern India was already known as Drāvīda at a comparatively early period.

It seems thus very improbable that the Gauda-Brahmans were originally called after the celebrated town *Gauda*, or after the kingdom of which it was the capital, especially if the true derivation of this word is from *gauda*, गौड, molasses (from *guda*), and if *Gaudadēśa* is an equivalent of *Sugarland*, an explanation which also appears to be doubtful. The name *Gauda* applies to most Brahmans in the North, but it is also used as specifying a particular sub-division; in the same manner as *Drāvīda* has also a general and a special sig-

this tradition, yet I am induced to retract a conjecture formerly hazarded by me, that the Gar of our maps was the original country of the Gaur priests."

Sir Henry M. Elliot supports in his *Supplementary Glossary of Indian Terms*, London, 1869, vol I, p 102, the Pāṇḍava legend. "They (the Gaur Brahmans) all state that they came from Gaur in Bengal, but there is much improbability in the story. There can be little doubt of Kanaujias emigrating on the invitation of Adiswara from Kanauj to Bengal, how then can we account for the whole tribe of Gaur not only leaving their native seats, but crossing through the country of the Kanaujias, and dwelling on the other side of them? If they emigrated in or about the time of the Pāṇḍavas, as inference that Kanaujias are a more modern race. Gaur, moreover, was only made the Bengal capital shortly before the Mahomedan conquest, and that is too late to admit of its giving a name to one of the ten tribes."—Compare also *ibidem* the remarks made on the *Gaur taga* on pp 106-115.

Dr Francis Buchanan mentions the legend of a westward Brahmanic emigration from Gaur, but disapproves of it also finally. He alludes to it twice in the third volume of his *History, Antiquities, Topography, and Statistics of Eastern India*, thus on p 42 he writes "One (tradition) is that

nification From what has been already stated the origin of this expression is to be looked for in the West, though no doubt the subsequent preponderance of the Eastern Gauda kings made this fact fall into oblivion *Kuṣamba*, a grand son of Balakāśva and son of Kuśa, is the reputed founder of the well known town Kausāmbī, south of Ayodhya and north west of the modern Allahabad The *Hitopadeśa* places it in the Gauda country¹⁶ Similarly is the city Śrāvastī described as situated in Gauda, while it belongs to Kosala, likewise a part of Oudh¹⁷ These and many more examples can be quoted to show that the term *Gauda* does not apply only to the distant East Moreover, the tradition which Colebrooke has preserved assigns to the Gauda-Brahmans a western home and connects their origin with the wars of the Pandavas I am inclined to attach to this legend some value, though I quite admit that we possess no records to prove its authenticity If deserving notice, we ought to ascribe to this division a comparatively early date, while

Janmeyaj son of Parikṣit son of Abhimanyu son of Arjun brother of Yudhishtira and the third king of India of the family of Pandu removed all the Brahmans from Gaur and settled them to the west of the Ganges beyond Hastinapur where their descendants still remain On pp 154 155 however he remarks The few Brahmans of the Gaur nation that are now in Bengal have avowedly come very recently from the west of India and the same is the case with almost all the tribes of Sudras who claim to be of the Gaur nation none of whom the Vaishnavs excepted are now to be found in Gaur I therefore concluded that some place called Gaur in the vicinity of Agra or Delhi was the original country of this nation I have however since met with some well informed Brahmans of this nation who allege that the Gaur of Bengal is their original place of settlement but that the whole of them were removed from thence by Janmeyaj and placed near Hastinapur The Sudras however of Gaur having as well as the Brahmans come from the west of India renders this emigration in the time of Janmeyaj rather doubtful

I have proved above the existence of a western Gaṇḍa (Gaur)

Read about Gaur also *ibidem* vol III pp 68-80

¹⁶ Compare *Rāmāyana* I 34 6 *Pāṇini* IV 2 63 *Hitopadeśa* in *Mitrabhaṭṭa* *Aṣṭi Gauḍarīṣya* (Gaṇḍadeśa Gauḍivā) Kausāmbī nāma nṣgarī

¹⁷ Compare *Vishnupurana* vol III p 973 and above p 115 n 11

if the city of Gauda was not in existence when Ptolemy lived, it is evident that no Brahmans could have been called after it before his time. I merely call attention to this fact, though I object to the proposed derivation of the name Gauda-Brahman from the city of Gauda, whatever may have been the origin of the name of that town.

ON THE NAME KOLARIAN.

Before entering into any further particulars about the Gaudian group, it is necessary to make a few remarks on the name *Kolarian*. It has of late been repeatedly and authoritatively stated that India was in ancient times called *Colaria*, and that the *Kols* in Central India represent the real aborigines of India, to whom it is indebted for this name. To both these statements I demur, and though I admit the antiquity of the tribes which are now styled *Kolarian*, I would at once observe that the *Kola* and *Koli*, who are mentioned in the Epio and Pauranic Sanskrit literature, should not be confounded with the modern *Kols*.¹⁸

The *Kolarian* theory, if I may so call it, derives its main support from the writings of three eminent men, Colonel Wilford, Colonel Dalton, and Sir George Campbell, for whom I must needs have the greatest respect; but while recognizing their merit, I trust to be able to show that in this matter they have erred in their conclusions and built up a theory on very slender foundations. The view they maintain will be found presented in the following extracts.

According to Colonel Dalton the word *Kol* "is one of the epithets of abuse applied by the Bramanical races to the aborigines of the country who opposed their early settlement, and it has adhered to the primitive inhabi-

¹⁸ *Kôli*, as it occurs, e g, in *Kôliarpad*

“tants of Chota-Nagpore for ages. It includes many
 “tribes; the people of this province to whom it is generally
 “applied are, either Moondah or Oraon; and though these
 “races are now found in many parts of the country occupying
 “the same villages, cultivating the same fields, celebrating
 “together the same festivals, and enjoying the same amuse-
 “ments, they are of totally distinct origin and cannot inter-
 “marry without loss of caste”¹⁹

Sir George Campbell is the inventor of the term *Kolarian*, and I shall now quote his arguments in favor of it: “The
 “generic name usually applied to the Aborigines of the
 “hill country of Chota-Nagpore, Mirzapore, and Rewah
 “is ‘Coles’ or ‘Koles.’ Europeans apply the term to the
 “Dravidian Oraons as well as to the others, but perhaps
 “erroneously. It is difficult to say to which tribes the
 “name is properly applied, for most of them have other
 “distinctive names. But in the south of the Chota-Nagpore
 “country, about Singbhoom, &c., it is certainly applied to
 “the ‘Lurka Coles,’ and I can myself testify that on the
 “Mirzapore-Jubbulpore road, the Aborigines are called by
 “the natives Coles or Kolees, which they volunteered to
 “explain to me to be the same word ‘which you call
 “Coolee’ On the Bombay side again a very numerous class
 “of Aborigines are styled Kolees. In the Simla hills also,
 “the inferior people are known as Kolees. Altogether I
 “have myself little doubt that the ordinary word Coolee, as
 “applied to a bearer of burdens or labourer, is the same word,
 “and that in short it is the word generally applied by the
 “Northern Indians to the Aboriginal tribes, most of whom
 “they reduced to the condition of Helots. There seems to
 “be good reason to suppose that the original form of the

¹⁹ See Colonel Dalton's article “The Kols of Chota-Nagpore,” in the Supplement to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. XXXV, 1887, Part II, p. 154

“word was *na*’ or ‘Kolar’ In fact, India seems to have
 “been known to the ancients (who approached it coastwise
 from the West) as Colara or Coolee-land (*Asiatic Re-*
searches, vol. IX) and the people as Colaurians If Kolar
 “be the original form of Koles, it would seem not im-
 “probable that, as in the mouths of some tribes by dropping
 “the ‘r’ it becomes Kola or Kolee, so in the mouths of
 “others by dropping the ‘l’ it would become Koar, Kaur,
 “Koor, Khar, or Khor, a form which would embrace a
 “large number of those tribes as now designated. I propose
 “then to call the northern tribes Kolarian or Cooleo
 “Aborigines

“One may see frequent allusion to Kolaries or Collieries
 “in the south of India It appears that the word there
 “used is properly ‘Kallar’ In the Canareso language, the
 “word ‘Kallar,’ it seems, simply means a thief or robber,
 “and hence some of the predatory Aborigines of the hills,
 “are designated Kallars or robbers, just as the thieves of
 “Central Asia are called ‘Kazaks’ or ‘Cossacks’ The word
 “is applied so differently from that of Coolee, that there
 “may fairly be doubt of its being the same But the subject
 “is worthy of further inquiry, and if it prove that in fact
 “the two words are identical, the term Cooleo or Kolarian
 “must be applied to the Aboriginal tribes generally, not to
 “one division of them Meanwhile, however, I apply it to
 “the Northern tribes only, but I confess I have misgivings
 “whether the more general sense may not prove to be the
 “true one”²⁰

²⁰ See *The Ethnology of India* by Mr Justice Campbell, in the Supplement to Part II, pp 27, 28 of vol XXXV of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*

Compare *A Comparative Dictionary of the Languages of India and High Asia* by W W Hunter, Dissertation pp 25-27 “Sanskrit literature refers to other sections of the Kol race under such names as Chol-as, Kul undas, &c . In the *Asiatic Society’s Journal* the ancient name for India is stated to have been Kolaria, and turning to the modern map of India, we find indications of

Sir George Campbell appears thus as to the propriety of his selecting the ^{rather diffident} his doubts are not without good cause. ^{Larian and} arguments of Colonel Wilford will confirm the ^{the} twentieth volume of the *Asiatic Journal of Beny*... was published "A comparative Essay on the Ancient Geography of India" by Colonel Wilford, in which we read on pp. 227 and 228 the following remarks: "The oldest name of "India, that we know of, is *Colar*, which prevailed till the "arrival of the followers of Brahmā, and is still preserved "by the numerous tribes of Aborigines, living among "woods, and mountains. These Aborigines are called in the

the race in every province from Barmah to Malabar in the Kols of Central India, Kolas of Katwar, the Kols, inferior husbandmen and a landless clan of Gujarat, the Kols, obscurely mentioned as helot cultivators on the Simla range, the Kolitas of Northern Bengal and Assam, the Kolams of Central India, classed with the Naikude, &c, in my vocabularies, the Kalars, a robber caste in the Tamil country, the Kalars of Tinnevely in the Kols of Bombay, in the names of the Kolarun river in Southern India, of the Koel river, from the Chota Nagpore watershed, of the Culinga and Koladya rivers, and of many other streams, in Kulna, a district in Bengal, Kulpac, in the Nizam's dominions, Kalapur, in the Panjab, Kulan and Kola Fort, in the distant north west, in Kulbunga, town and district, near the Bombay Presidency, within, I believe, the territory of the Nizam, and to be brief in such names as the following, scattered over the whole length and breadth of India,—names which the reader may identify in a moment by referring to Dr Keith Johnston's index to his Map from the Royal Atlas Kuldah, Kulkari, Kulanpur in three different districts, Kullavakurti, Kullean, Kuller-kaher, Kulu district, Kullum, Kullang River, Kullunji, several Kullurs, Kulpani, Kulpi, Kulra, Kulsi, Kolachu, Kolapur town and state, the three Kolars, Kolaspur, Kolbarra, Koh, Kolikod (Calicut), Cola Bura, Colair, Colgong, Collam (Kayan kulam), Colar, and Colombo in Ceylon I would go further, and, if time permitted, could philologically prove the connection of the above with hundreds of other names and places in regular series."

I am afraid that something more than time would have been required by Sir William Hunter for proving the philological connection of the Kols with the Gaudian *Kolams*, with the Tamil *Kallar* with *Kolikod* the modern Calicut or Kōlī kōḷa, with *Kulanpur* or *Kalyanapura*, not to mention many others of the above-quoted names. The Royal Atlas of Dr Keith Johnston can hardly be regarded as an authority with respect to the spelling of Indian places

“peninsula to this day, *Colaris* and *Colairs*, and in the north of India *Coles*, *Coils* and *Coolies*, thus it seems, that the radical name is *Cola*. This appellation of *Colar* was not unknown to the ancients; for the younger Plutarch says, that a certain person called *Ganges*, was the son of the *Indus* and of *Dio-Pithusa*, a *Calaurian* damsel, who through grief, threw himself into the river *Chliarus*, which after him was called *Ganges*; and *Chliarus* is probably a mistake for *Calaurius*, or the *Colarian* river. I believe, that *Dio-Pithus* is the name of the father and *Sindhu* of the mother for *Dera-Pithu*, or *Deo-Pithu*, is worshipped to this day on the banks of the *Sindhū*, a female deity. The etymology of *Colar* is probably out of our reach but it is asserted by some that *Cola*, *Coil*, or *Cail*, signify a woodlander, exactly like *Chael*, *Gāl*, in Great Britain, and the etymological progress is the same. In several dialects of the peninsula *Cadu*, is a forest, and its derivative is *Cadul*, from which striking off the *d* remains *Cail*”²¹

I come now to the passage in Plutarch's work “On Rivers,” which has originated all these statements about India's ancient name *Colaria*. Plutarch gives in his work some legendary accounts of twenty-five rivers. Three among

²¹ The article to which Sir George Campbell refers when quoting vol. IX of the *Asiatic Researches* is the suggestive “Essay on the Magadha Kings” by Captain F. Wilford where on p. 92 we read “The offspring of *Turcasu*, so far from settling in the west, is declared in the *Harivansa* to have settled in the southern parts of India, and in the tenth generation including their Sire four brothers divided the peninsula among themselves. Their names were *Pandya*, *Cerala*, *Cōla* and *Chōla* and this division obtains even to this day. *Cōla* lived in the northern parts of the peninsula, and his descendants are called *Cōles*, and *Collers* to this day and they conceive themselves, with much probability, to be the aborigines of India to which they give the name of *Coller* or *Colara*. Hence we read in *Plutarch* that the *Ganges* was called formerly the *Calaurian* river, and the same author mentions a *Calaurian*, or *Hindu* and a handsome damsel, called *Diopithusa* who was also a *Calaurian*, or native of India, or country bordering upon the *Calaurian* river.”

these are Indian streams the Hydaspes, Ganges and Indos²²

The Hydaspes is the first river described. Plutarch relates that a certain King Hydaspes had a daughter Chrysippe, whom Aphrodite out of spite caused to fall in love with her own father. She was for this offence crucified by the order of her father. But, these calamities so upset Hydaspes that he throw himself into the river Indos, which was henceforward called Hydaspes.

In ancient times there lived a youth called *Indos*, who had raped *Damasalkida*, a daughter of the king *Oxyalkos*, while she was celebrating the feast of *Bakobos*. The king, her father, pursued him, and when *Indos* saw all escape impossible, he plunged into the river *Mausolos* rather than expose himself to the king's vengeance. This river had been so called after *Mausolos*, a son of the Sun, but from that time it was named *Indos* which is a river in India in the country of the *Ichthyophages* or Fish-eaters.

The story of the Gangee resembles these two²³. It is as follows.—“The Ganges is a river of India, called so for the following reason. The nymph *Kalamia* bore *Indos* a son of

²² See Plutarch *Περὶ ποταμῶν* or *de fluminibus*. The twenty-five rivers are the Hydaspes, Iemenos, Hebros, Ganges, Phasis, Arar, Paktolos, Lykormas, Maiandros, Marsyas, Strymon, Sagana, Ikamandros, Tanais, Thermodon, Nilos, Eurotas, Inachos, Alpheios, Euphrates, Kaikos, Acheloos, Araxes, Tigris, and Indos.

²³ See Plutarch's *Chaeroneensis omnium quae exstant opusculum* (Tomus duo), Gulielmo Xylandro interprete, Lutetiae Parisiorum, 1624. At the end of the second volume is printed “Πλουτάρχου περὶ ποταμῶν καὶ ὄρων ἐπωνυμίας καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς εὐρισκόμενων — Plutarchi de Fluviorum et Montium nominibus, et de eis quae in illis inveniuntur, interprete Philippo Jacobo Maussaco.” There we read in vol. II, pp. 1151, 1152

Γάγγης ποταμός ἐστι τῆς Ἰνδίας, τὴν προσηγορίαν λαβὼν δι' αἰτίαν τοιαύτην. Ἰνδὸς τις Κалаυρία νύμφη ἐγγέννησεν υἱὸν καλλεῖ περιβλεπτον, τὸ ὄνομα Γάγγην. Οὗτος καρνηβαρήσας τῇ μητρὶ κατ' ἔγνωσαν συνεγγενετο τῇ Διοσκιδόσῃ, ὃ δὲ μεθ' ἡμέρας παρα τῆς τροφοῦ μαθεὶν τὴν ἐλπίθειαν, εἰδὼς δὲ ὑπερβολὴν αὐτοῦ ἐβρίβηεν εἰς ποταμὸν Χλιαρὸν καλοῦμενον, ὃς δὲ αὐτοῦ Γάγγης μετωνομάσθη. Maussacus translates this passage as follows. “Ganges fluvius est Indiae, ita vocatus hac de causa. Ex Indo Calauria quaedam virgo genuit filium pulchritudine conspicuum nomine Gangem qui somno vinoque sepultus cum matre Diopi-

conspicuous beauty, by name *Ganges*, who, when inebriated, had once in ignorance connection with his mother. But when he had learnt on a subsequent day the truth from his nurse, he threw himself through excess of remorse into the river *Chlarios* which was called after him *Ganges*." The ancient edition of Plutarch which was published by Xylander at Paris in 1624 contains in an Appendix at the end, the treatise *On Rivers*. It was edited translated and annotated by Phil Jacob Maussacus. In its text occurs instead of the correct reading $\delta\epsilon\pi\iota\upsilon\omicron\upsilon\sigma\eta$ the false expression $\Delta\iota\omicron\pi\iota\theta\upsilon\sigma\eta$ which Maussacus mistook for a name, though his predecessors the learned Natalis a Comitibus and Turnebus had already doubted the accuracy of the text, as Maussacus himself mentioned in a note which is quoted below. Colonel Wilford unfortunately accepted the wrong reading and built on it a new theory. According to Plutarch so says the Colonel *Dopithuse* was a Calaurian damsel but Wilford himself further changes *Dopithuse* into a man *Dio Pithus* (for *Deva Pithu* or *Deo Pithu*), and declares

thuse concubuit per inaccitam sed interdu cum a nutrice rei veritatem didicisset ob dolorem extremum se ipsum coniecit in fluvium Chliarum qui ab eo Gangis nomen assumpsit.

However in the 6th volume of Πλουταρχου Αποσπασματα καὶ Ψευδοπαραγραφαὶ edited by Fr. Dubner Paris 1853 and in the edition of Plutarchi *Libellus de fluminibus* rec et notis instr. Rud. Hercher Lipsae 1857 we read Γαγγης ποταμὸς ἐστὶ τῆς Ἰνδίας. Οὗτος παρηβαρβήσατο τῇ μητρὶ κατ' ἔγνοον συνεγγίνετο. Τῇ δ' ἐκ οὐσιν τῶν ἡμερῶν παρὰ τῆς τροφῆς μάθων τὴν ἀλήθειαν αὐτὸν ἐββήσεν εἰς ποταμὸν Χλῆρον.

We read already on p. 72 in the Appendix to the edition of Maussacus entitled Plutarchi librorum *Περὶ ποταμῶν* Philippi Jac. Maussaci emendationes et notae. Mirum est hoc nomen proprium *Dopithusae* nostros interpretes exercitos habuisse. Natalis a Comitibus sicco pede haec transivit quae tamen fida interpretatone opus habebant. Magnus Turnebus tanta est usus circumlocutione in vero hoc nomine explicando ut plane eum ab scopo aberasse nemo bonus negare audeat qui per ebrietatem (inquit) nascentem matrem ditorum quicquid esse ex se matrem cognovit. Ut conedamus $\Delta\omega\theta\upsilon\sigma\eta$ hic non esse nomen proprium tamen Graecis non contenti haec interpretatone Latina veritatem enim esset simpliciter. *Jore enim sic credente* sed hoc est nugae. $\Delta\omega\theta\upsilon\sigma\eta$ nomen erum est *Dopithusae*.

Colar as the oldest name of India we know of. That theory, however, must now be abandoned, and with the disappearance of *Diopithuse* from the pages of Pline, the whole edifice of conjecture so ingeniously raised on the supposed occurrence of this name, must fall to the ground; there being absolutely nothing to support the assumption that India was known in the earliest times as the Kolarian Empire.

Sir George Campbell supported Colonel Wilford by stating that India "seems to have been known to the ancients as Colara or Cooleo Land and the people as Colarians" and by eventually advocating the name Colee or Kolarian for the aboriginal tribes of India. I need not specially mention that the dictionary of Greek proper names, compiled by Dr. W. Pape, does not contain *Diopithuse* as a name, though it refers to the nymph Kalauria and the river Chliaros.²¹

I had here in Madras at my disposal only the antiquated edition of Xylander printed by Antonius Stephanus, in which the reading *Diopithuse* occurs. Though doubting its accuracy from the first, I was not prepared to emendate the text, for besides my own conviction and the note of Maussacus, I had no evidence to go upon. Later on, however, I consulted Dr. Pape's excellent Dictionary of Greek names and the fact that it makes no mention of *Diopithuse* confirmed my suspicions. To ascertain the truth, I eventually wrote to

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Kalauria or *Kalaureia* is the well-known island with the famous temple of Poseidon, which opened a safe asylum to all pursued. Demosthenes when hunted down by the Macedonians, poisoned himself in it. The island was called after *Kalauros*, a son of Poseidon. *Kalauria* belonged originally to Apollo who had exchanged it with Poseidon for Delos. Poseidon is therefore also called *Kalaureates*, *Kalauria* in contradistinction to *Kalabria* is sometimes explained as "land of peace" and *Kalauros* as "peaceful" (Frederic).

friends in Europe who kindly supplied me with the right reading δ'ἐπιούσῃ instead of Διοπιθούσῃ.

It may also be added that, according to Plutarch, all the rivers on which he comments have changed their original names in order to bear the one by which they were afterwards generally known. Plutarch refers occasionally to previous authors to verify his accounts, *e.g.*, to Kallisthenes, Kaimarōn, Kleitophōn, Aristoteles, and others, but even if most of the works he quotes had not been lost, it is doubtful whether he could have substantiated his statements. The stories about the Hydaspes and Indos are so un-Indian and so mythical that it is hardly necessary to try to explain the report concerning the Ganges. Even if the term *Kalauria* were an adjective derived from a proper name, and Ohliaros were a mistake for Kalaurios, there is nothing to prove that *Kalauria* should be identical with Indian, not to speak of the boldness of deriving from it *Colar* or *Colara* as a term designating India in ancient times; a term and a signification which occur nowhere in the whole classical literature. I am quite convinced that *Kalauria* has nothing to do with the Kols of Chota-Nagpore, though I am not prepared to venture a decided conjecture as to the origin of the word *Kalauria* used by Plutarch.²⁵

It is perhaps a mere accident that the *Yamunā* which joins the *Gangā* or *Ganges* at *Prayaga* (*Pratisthana*, the modern *Allahabad*) is called *Kalindi*, the daughter of *Kalinda*, for she springs from the mountain *Kalinda*, or is accord-

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ing to others a daughter of the Sun-god Kalinda who is in consequence known as *Kalindisū*, the father of Yamunā, while the god *Yama* is called *Kāṇḍivodara*, the brother of Yamunā. I mention this circumstance as Plutarch gives to Indos the name of Mausolos after Mauselos, the son of the Sun.

Another peculiar coincidence is that the *Kālī* or Black Gangā, which is also known as *Mandākinī*, has in its upper course some famous warm springs and that *Chliaros* in Greek means lukewarm. A second *Mandākinī* rises on the *Kālāñ-jara* mountain, on whose top the lake of the gods is situated.

It is somewhat astonishing that Colonel Walford without giving any reasons explained *Chliaros* as a mistake for *Calaurius*. He could as well have conjectured *Chliara* for *Kalauria*. All editions, however, of Plutarch, the modern emendated as well as the old antiquated, read *Kalauria* and *Chliaros* as proper-names.²⁶

The ancient inhabitants of the country round Mathura in North India are also called *Kālars*, but this name has not yet been explained and has presumably no connection with the *Kalauria nympe* of Plutarch.

Modern writers have often identified the Kolis and the Kolarces or Collieries of South India with the Kols. It is a peculiar circumstance that, except by the *Hos* or *Larka-Kols*, the term *Kol* is not used by the so-called *Kolarians*, who include the *Mundas*, *Santals*, *Korwas*, *Juangs*, and a few other tribes.²⁷ The *Kolis* are, according to my opinion, *Gaudians*, and must be distinguished from those races now

²⁶ For *Kāṇḍī* occurs also *Kelindī*, a wrong formation. Balarama is also called *Kāṇḍī Karyana*, or *Kāṇḍī-śāḍana* for diverting the Yamunā by his ploughshare into a new bed in the Vrindāvana forest. *Mandākinī* is also the name of the Ganga of the heavens. About this river see Chr Lassen's *Indische Alterth*, vol. I, pp 64-66, where this question is fully discussed.

²⁷ See Colonel Dalton's *Ethnology of Bengal*, p 178. "The *Hos* are the only branch of the Kols that has preserved a national appellation." *Lark* means fighter. About the *Kolarians* consult Mr J. F Hewitt's "Notes on the early History of Northern India," in the *Journal of the R. A. Society*, vol XX, pp 321-323.

generally described as Kols. Besides, our knowledge of this people is still very limited, and it would be venturesome to make decided statements as to their origin. Though differing from the Gauda-Dravidians in language, which must be regarded as a very important test, they nevertheless intermarry occasionally with them, a circumstance which on the other hand tends to indicate some intimate connection between them.

The word *Kuli* is a common Gauda-Dravidian term which signifies *hire*, and is eventually also applied to the person who is hired. A hireling or servant is thus called a *Kuli*. The name *Kol* is a totally distinct word. The now common term *Kuli* started from the Eastern coast of India, where the principal English factories such as Madras were situated, and whence in course of time the English commenced to lay the foundation of their Indian Empire in the days of Clive.²⁵

The Kolarees or Colliers represent the well known Kallās, the dreaded thief tribe, who are mostly dependents of

²⁵ Compare Wilson's Glossary p. 301. "Kuli Coolie (Tamil கூலி Mal 220). Kan कूल Tel କୁଳ, Beng কুল Hind कूल) Daily hire or wages a day labourer a *Cooly* (the word is originally Tamil whence it spread into the other languages in Upper India it bears only its second and apparently subsidiary meaning it appears as *Culalu* as the term for hired labourers, in Tulava—Buchanan) *Kūliyaḷu* is one of the Kanarese terms for hireling like the Telugu *Kūligāḍu*.

In Colonel Yule's and Dr. Burnell's *Glossary of Anglo-Indian Colloquial Words and Phrases* p. 192 an attempt is made to derive the term *Kuli* from *Koli* but it is notwithstanding admitted. "Though this explanation of the general use of the term *Cooly* (from *Koli*) is the most probable, the matter is perplexed by other facts which it is difficult to trace to the same origin. Thus in S India, there is a Tamil word *kuli* in common use, signifying 'hire' or 'wages' which Wilson indeed regards as the true origin of *Cooly*. Also in both Oriental and Omani Turkish *Kol* is a word for a slave whilst in the latter also *Kūlek* means 'a male slave a bondsman' (Redhouse). *Khol* is in Tibetan also a word for servant or slave (Note from A. Schiefner). The familiar use of *Cooly* has extended to the Straits Settlements Java and China as well as to all tropical and sub tropical colonies whether English or foreign."

the Rāja of Pudukōta. A single individual of this clan is called a *Kallan*, of which word *Kallar* is the plural.²⁰

Enough has been already adduced to prove that the *Kalauria nympe* of Plutarch does not refer to an ancient name of India, that the so-called *Colaria* is a purely imaginary appellation, based in part on a badly pronounced and distorted plural formation of the name of the *Kallar*, or on *Kolarees*, and that, though the term *Kolarian* may be still applied to the *Kol* race, it must be clearly understood that all the wild philological vagaries concerning the origin and antiquity of this expression ought to be abandoned. Yet, the history of the fictitious term *Colaria* provides us on the other hand with an instructive example how by a concatenation of conjectures and conclusions a new theory can be successfully started and find acceptance among scholars of reputation. It has thus now become a fashion to ascribe all ancient monuments with which the *Kolis*, *Kōlas* and other kindred tribes can be connected with the so-called *Kelarians*, whose original home and early history are shrouded in mysterious darkness, who, if we can trust reliable information, do not even use the term *Kol* as a tribal name, and who, so far as it is known, do not claim as their own the scattered remains in Northern India, which modern writers are so fond of ascribing to them.

I now proceed to discuss in detail the principal tribes whom I regard as representatives of the Gaudian race. The linguistic and ethnological connection of these clans has in most instances been generally admitted by competent scholars, yet, their close relationship has, so far as I am aware, not hitherto been so distinctly stated.

I shall begin with the *Kolis*, *Kōlas*, and tribes kindred, pass on to the *Gonds* and their clansmen, then notice the

²⁰ It is doubtful whether *Kallan* meant originally a thief, or simply a man of the *Kallan* tribe who, excelling in thieving accomplishments, imparted to his tribal name the meaning of thief. I recur to this subject on pp. 257-60.

Kodagas, Koragas, afterwards consider the position of the Todas and Kōtas, and end with a survey of the Kurubas or Kurumbas in their various ramifications

CHAPTER VIII.

ON THE KOLIS (KULIS), KŌLAS

The Kolis and Kōlas have already been mentioned in the previous chapter. Sanskrit works contain their name in connection generally with Pandya, Kerala and Cōla, the sons of Akrida and descendants of Dusyanta. The term *Kōl* occurs in *Kōlisarpah*, instead of which the manuscript used by M Langlois contained probably *Kolah Sarpah* or *Kōlasarpah*, as he translates the passage by : " les Colas, les Sarpas " The Kōlis appear likewise in Sanskrit inscriptions. The name of the Kōlas can be traced in that of the country *Kōlañca*, which has, according to the *Śabdaratnāvalī*, *Kānyakubja* as its capital, or which, according to Horace Hayman Wilson, is identical with *Kalinga*.

The word *Kōla* forms also part of Sanskrit names of various peoples, plants, countries and mountains, as of *Kōlagiri*, *Kollagiri*, *Kolabala*, *Kollaka* and *Kōlvagiri*, &c. We meet it even in South-Indian names of places, *e g*, in *Kōlam*, *Kōlanadu*, *Kōlattanadu* and others

I regard the name *Cōla* or *Cōda* (in Telugu and Kanarese *Cōla*, and in Tamil and Malayalam *Cola*) as a modification of the word *Kōla*. It is a remarkable historical fact that the Cōlas and Pandyas were as a rule rival kings who fought continually against each other. With the various formations of the terms *Kōla*, *Cola*, and *Cōda* may be compared those of *Kēra*, *Cēra* and *Ceda*. The expressions *Cēra* and *Kongu* are occasionally used identically.

The first syllable *ko* in *Kōla* and *Koli* indicates the mountain home, while the second syllable *la* or *li* intimates

the particular tribal distinction The interchange between *l* and *r* produces *Kori* (Kohri) as a variation of *Koli*³⁰

The Kolis and Kolas, as has already been pointed out, should be distinguished from the so called Kolarian Kols In consequence of the near relation of the Kolis to the Bhils and Gonds, hardly any doubt can be entertained about their belonging to the Gaudīn branch of the Gauda-Draavidians The establishment of this ancient kinship is an important fact It severs the connection between the Kolis

³⁰ *Kola* means originally a country adjoining *Kōla* The late Mr O P Brown explained *Kōladāsamu*, कौलदाम as the long country which interpretation is obviously erroneous when applied to the Sanskrit word *Kōla*

Kolagiri is a mountain in Southern India The commentator Mallinātha is surnamed Kōlagiri The *Saṅgaparva* says in śloka 1171 "Kṛtsnam Kōlagirim caiva Surabhīpattanam tathā" The Kōlagiri occurs in Varāhamihira's *Brhatsaṃhitā* XIV, 13

Karṇāṭa Mahatāvi Citrakōṭa Nāṅkya Kollagiri Colah
Krañṣādāvīpa Jātādihara Kāvērya Rīṣyamākaśca
The Kaullagireyas fought according to the *Asvamedha* with Arjuna
Aretah prayayau dhomasu dakṣiṇam salīlarpavain
Tatrapī Drāviḍair Āndhrair Audrair Mahāśakair api
Tathā Kaullagireyaśca yuddham asti Kṛtūnah

About *Kōladhala* compare General Sir A Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India* vol VIII pp 123 126

Compare what is said about the town *Kollagira* in the *Indian Antiquary* vol XIV, p 23, note 22 "it appears that Kollagira was another name of Kollāpura or Kōlhapur" See *ibidem* vol III pp 209 210 in the article 'The Geography of Ibn Batuta's Indian Travels' by Col. Hule "The Kōli prince must be the *Kola* siri or Cherakal Raja, whose kingdom was called *Kola nḍa* About *Aclattas dgu*, the district about Tellicherry see *Indian Antiquary* vol VIII pp 115 145 Compare also Dr Gundert's *Malajalam and English Dictionary*, p 318, under *Acliam* "4 North Malabar, subject to Kōlattiri or Kōlasawarūpam"

About the Cera or Kōṅgu kings confer among others the *Indian Antiquary* vol II, pp 155 271 vol V, pp 133 140, vol VI pp 99 103

About the change of the *l* into *r* in words like *Koli* compare General Sir A Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India*, vol XI p 101 "I paid a visit to the old site of *Koron* or *Kordas di* because the people agreed in stating that the old name of the place was *Kolpur*, which I thought might perhaps be connected with the old city of *Koli* the birth place of *Mayadevi* But the position of *Kerendā* is much too distant to be identified with that of *Koli*" Compare also the late Mr John A C Boswell's *Manual of the Kelers District*, p 157 "The *Kerukalas* in this district state that their tribe name in their own language is *Keruru*, also *Kola*"

and Kols, which is still occasionally asserted to exist and to which I have repeatedly alluded

The Kols appear originally as mountaineers, but afterwards descending to the plains, some settled down as agriculturists, while many others selecting the seashore became fishermen and sailors ³¹

The Koli mountaineers were not long ago the guardians of the hill-passes, especially of those in the Ajanta range and in the Western Ghats. Their ancient position as lords of the mountains is to this day certified by the fact that the

³¹ See C Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol I, p 137 (or 108). "*Basilis* sitzen hier noch in dem Granzgebirge nach Malva, Rajputana und südlicher, ein grosser Theil der Bevölkerung besteht aus einem andern ursprünglich ähnlichen Volke, den Kuli (*Kola*), welches über Brahmanische Sitten dem grossern Theile nach angenommen hat." Compare further Rev M A Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, vol II, pp 307-316

Sir George Campbell remarks in his *Ethnology of India* about the Koolees on pp 42-43 as follows "I find, however, that the opinion of those qualified to judge seems to tend to the belief that there is no essential difference between the two tribes (the Koolees and Bheels). Forbes in his *Ras Mala* says 'Koolees or Bheels, for though the former would resent the classification, the distinctions between them need not be here noticed.' Captain Probyn says 'I think there is no actual difference between Koolees and Bheels. Their religion is the same.' Mr Ashburner 'There is no real difference between Bheels and Koolees, their habits, physiognomy and mode of life are the same, modified by local circumstances.' And the Rev Mr Dunlop Moore says 'Koolees frequently marry Bheel wives.' Other authorities, however, say that they do not intermarry. They both seem to claim a northern and not a southern origin, pointing to the hills of Rajpootana and the north of Goozerat. The Bheels say that they were originally called Karyos, Sir John Malcolm says that they are related to the Meenas of Rajpootana, and once ruled in the Jeypore country. Forbes again tells us that the Koolees were originally called Maurs while in Rajpootana, Col Tod speaks of Maurs or Meenas as one race. Though probably in the main of the same class and similar origin, the Koolees and Bheels are now quite distinct tribes, and there is this considerable difference that the Koolees have come much more into contact with Aryan blood civilization. . . The Koolees are the Aborigines of Goozerat (where they now live in considerable number), and of the hills adjoining that Province. The hills east of Goozerat are called 'Kolwan' and seem to be the property of Koolee tribes. . . The Bheels are the proper possessors of the hills farther in the interior and east of the Koolees. . . The Koolees seem to be scattered down the Coast country nearly as far as Goa, and north again into the 'Tharr' and the neighbourhood of Scinde. While the wilder Koolees of the hills are like the Bheels,

famous sanctuary at Mahabalesvara is under the hereditary wardenship of Kolis

Many shrines throughout India are associated with the lowest classes of the population, as we have seen, when speaking of the temples at Melkōta, Puri and Trevandrum. The sanctuary at Mahabalesvara over a spring which is supposed to be the source of the Krishna, though said to have been founded by a Sattara Brahman, named Anagada, is under the hereditary superintendence of a Koli family, and the chief official in charge is a Koli. Such a Koli is called Gangāputra, and whatever offerings a worshipper makes after bathing form the perquisite of the Kolis and are taken by them. "At the temple of Mahabalesvara also," thus writes the Hon Visvanath Narayan Mandlik, "the Kolis hold a hereditary position, and the Guravas, who worship the *Linga* in that temple, appear more closely allied to the hill tribes than to the inhabitants of the plains, they (*i.e.*, the *Guravas*) have however, no connection with the shrine of the Krishna, where the Kolis alone are the principal

the mass of more civilised Koolies are said to be not only fairer and more Caucasian in feature but also more sly and cunning and less truthful. The wilder tribes of the race are still predatory and Forbes mentions the Koolies as by far the most numerous of the arm bearing castes who in former days living in the hills between Goozerat and Rajpootana disturbed the country. He describes them as of dark

bore an expression of liveliness and cur- with eyes which
arrows habits swift and active bold bows and
jungles independent in spirit robber- ang to the
drunkenness and quarrelsome when ted to
but incapable of uniting among exceed
ingly w to the wild Sheels Forbes
classes Lassen in
them) of Kattywar he calls
Dome- merely and
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"officers in charge" The origin of the famous Mahabala-
 l'vara templa is ascribed to the Paulastya Ravana. Ho
 compelled Siva, so runs the tradition, by his severa penance
 on the mauntain Kailasa, to surrender ta him his *Prana*
Linga The terrified gads tried every means to regain it, but
 their attempts were fruitless At last V'enu raised his *Cakra*
 to prevent the sun rays from descending to the earth, and
 Ravana, who was then at Gokarna, believing that the sun
 was setting prepared ta perform his Sandhyavandanam
 But the *Prana Linga*, which he carried in his hand prevented
 him from performing properly his worship He therefore,
 requested *Ganapati* to take temporary charge af tha *Linga*
 The god assented but pretending that the *Linga* was too heavy
 placed it on tha ground Once there, it remained fixed in
 spite of all the attempts of the Rakshasa to remove it When
 trying for the fifth time he cried as his strength was
 failing "O *Mahabala*" O great power! which expression
 is said to have given the name to the place "

deny all affinity w th those of the hills In the village establishment, the
 Kol is most generally associated with the occupation of a water-carrier, and
 the Kuntli drinks water from his hands He is known by his *chumi* or
 twisted cloth which he wears on his head in order to rest the waterpot but
 he is often a good farmer or is engaged as a musician, hand craftsman
 weaver palanquin bearer fisher labourer They use ment drink spirits
 bury the r dead worship Khandola, Barubá and Bhavani and employ
 Brahmins for religious ceremonies but have also priests of the r own.
 See *Historical and Descriptive Sketch of the Vissam's Domains* compiled
 by Syed Hossain B'grami a. a., and C Wallmott Bombay 1883 vol. I p.
 310 "At one time they (the Kolis) acted as guards in the hill passes on the
 northern frontier and in the Ajanta hills there is a tribe of Kolis who had
 charge of the Ghaut passes. The Kamblis Kumbas make and wear
 chamli (kamblis) in the same manner see p 279 a 10"

I agree w th Sir George Campbell so far as the r relationship w th the
 Dhils is concerned the latter I have proved to be Dravidians see pp. 19
 "285

" See The Shrine of the Ever Krishna at the Village of Mahabala-
 vara by Rao Sahib Vishwanath Narayan Mandlik in the *Journal of the*
Punjab Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society vol IX pp 250 "51

" See *ibidem* pp 57 "54 Compare also *Archaeological Survey of India*
 vol VIII pp 163 164 about Lavapa a connection with the *Linga* at
 Mahadeo Lavapetrara

The connection of the ancient hill tribes with many celebrated Indian shrines is also admitted by the Hon. Viśvanāth Nārāyan Mandlick. "The above tradition of Gokarna," he says, "points out to the origin of these places of Linga worship "by the influence of, if not amongst, the wild tribes of the "mountains of whom Ravana is a fair representative. The "actual position of the Kolis at the temples of the Krishna "and also at Mahabalesvara, appears to confirm the above "conclusion. The serpent is connected with both these "temples, and from the *Linga* temples he seems to be quite "inseparable. In the latter he is represented as being coiled "round the *Linga*, while in the temple of the Krishna, a living "one is supposed to be guarding its sources." "

The most accurate description of the Kolis has been written by Captain A. Macintosh, to whose account we owe, in fact, the greater part of our information about these people. Yet, he is compelled to admit: "We cannot "expect to glean much authentic information of an historical "description from an ignorant and unlettered people like the "Kolis. The few traditions they possess relative to their first "settlement in their present locations and of subsequent

Read also Dr Fr Buchanan's *Journey from Madras through the countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar*, second edition, vol II, p 316. "Gaukarna, or the cow's horn (P), is a place of great note among the Brahmans, owing to a celebrated image of Siva called *Mahabaleswara*. The image is said to have been brought from the mountain *Coila* by *Ravana*, king of *Lanka*. He wished to carry it to his capital, but having put it down here, the idol became fixed in the place, where it stands to this day."

"The Kanara people regard *Gokarna* as holier than Benares; for they say

Gōkarṇam ca mahākāśi viśvanātho mahābalah

Kōtūtirītham ca Gaṅgāyāś śāmadram adhikam phalam ; "

according to the *Journal of the Bombay Royal Asiatic*, vol IX, p 258. Compare in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. IV, p 111, Dr J. Gerson da Cunha's account of the legend of *Walukeshvara*, the present Malabar Hill, with which it is connected. "The Kolis, who, as wild inhabitants of Bombay, pay special devotion to the original (their) principal quarter :

Khandōba, whom I consider as a national deity of the Gaudian Khands³⁶

The Kolis have among them a tradition, according to which they are the descendants of the famous Valmiki, the poet of the Ramāyana. It may be that the similarity of the profession embraced by Valmiki—previously to his becoming a poet—and by the Kolis, has something to do with this belief. Both are celebrated as robbers³⁷

According to the last census report, the Kolis number 2,488,372 souls. 1,669,302 live in Bombay, 429,688 in Baroda, 213,966 in Hyderabad, and 123,171 in the Punjab, &c.³⁸

The *Kohls* in Bhandāra and Chanda, who are agriculturists, have a distinct Gond type, and have retained many Gond customs³⁹

proper are a true hill people whose especial locality lies in the Western Ghats, and in the northern extension of that range, between 18° and 24° N latitude. I have referred on p. 131, n. 28, to another passage of this article in the *Glossary*

I have already on p. 131 declared myself against this explanation. Though it is a matter of minor importance I may observe as an additional proof that the tribal name is always pronounced *Kol*, and not *Kul*.

³⁶ See *ibidem* p. 106. "The Kolies pay their adorations to all the Hindoo deities but their chief object of worship is Khundorow, commonly called Khundobah."

³⁷ See *ibidem*, p. 82. "One of the descendants of Neeshad and a female shoodur were the parents of the Poolkuss and a male of the Neeshad lineage and a female of the Poolkuss family were the parents of the Koly. He was to subsist, by killing whatever animals he encountered in the jungles and forests. It may further be stated, that the Kohes say that they are the descendants of Valmiki the distinguished author of the Ramayan, who, although of Brahman parentage, and born at Veer Walla, twenty four miles south east of Poona it is said, followed the life of a Koly." About the Koolies or Bheelas see Sir G. Campbell's *Ethnology of India* p. 46.

³⁸ According to the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VI p. 233 the late Rev. Dr. John Wilson derived the name of the Kolis from the Sanskrit word *kula*, a clan. I need not dilate on the groundlessness of this etymology. Compare p. 133.

³⁹ See Rev. M. A. Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, vol. II, p. 109. "They have a remarkable faculty for selecting the best sites for irrigation reservoirs; and to possess a large tank is their highest ambition. On the lands watered by these tanks they cultivate sugar cane and rice."

I believe that the *Koris* (*Kohris*) are of the same extraction as the *Kolis*. The former are said to have emigrated from Benares, in the train of a Bhonsla prince of the Chandah branch.⁴⁰ I am also inclined to connect the *Koiris* of Bengal with both these tribes.⁴¹

Whether there exists any connection between the *Kolis* and the *Gaulis* is doubtful. As was the case with *Gauda*, so also is the term *Gauli* differently interpreted. Some derive the name *Gauli* from the Sanskrit word *go*, cow, and explain *Gauli* to signify cowherd, others connect it with *Koli*. It is even possible that both derivations are right, and that the term *Gauli* represents originally two different, but equal-sounding words; one being derived from *Koli* and the other from *gō*. In the first case it has an ethnological and in the other a professional meaning. To those *Gaulis* who are cowmen both terms are

⁴⁰ See *ibidem*, pp 107, 108. "They produce sugar cane in large quantities, the production of which is chiefly in their hands. The tribe has distinguished itself for its great enterprises and energy in the excavation of noble tanks and in the formation of numerous embankments." According to the census of 1881, the *Koris* amount to 946,851, 843,422 of whom are found in the North-Western Provinces, 48,826 in the Central Provinces, and 43,565 in Bengal. Compare Mr Charles Grant's *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, pp 61, 137, 181, 194 and 438 on the *Koris* (*Kohris*).

⁴¹ Compare Colonel Dalton's *Ethnology of India*, pp 320, 321. "In some districts the *Koiris* appear to be more numerous than the *Kūrmis*. The distinction between them is, that the former are generally market gardeners as well as agriculturists. Buchanan estimated that there were 30,000 families of *Koiris* in the Shahabad District, and 45,000 families in Bihar. . . . A learned pandit informs me that the derivation of the name is *ku*, earth, and *ari*, enemy. They are so called from their constant attacks on the soil. *Koiris*, men and women, are always troubling it. Every three years they make offerings on a hill known as the *Marang Bara* of the *Kols*, the god that is invoked by the *aborigines*, especially when rain does not fall in due season." See also Rev M A Sbering's *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, vol. I, pp 325, 326. "These (the *Koeris*) and the *Kumbhis* are the great agricultural classes of these provinces. . . The *Koeris* and *Kumbhis* are agriculturists by profession. . . The *Koeris* are the principal growers of poppy, and producers of opium, both in Benares and Behar. . . The *Koeris* are numerous in the district of Jhansi, where they pursue the occupation of weaving. Their tradition is, that they came from Benares about seven hundred years ago." The census report of 1881 mentions 3,067 *Koeris* in Assam and 1,204,884 *Koeris* in Bengal. Rev Sir G Campbell's *Ethnology of India*, p 107.

applicable The Mahadeo Kohis assert that their ancestors subdued the Gauls, and to these are also ascribed most of the earlier graves The Gauli chiefs, according to tradition, ruled in the Central Provinces long before the Gond Rajas I believe that future enquiry will prove that the Gauli Rajas were not Aryans, but that they, like other tribes similarly named, belonged to the Gaudian race ⁴²

I must not omit to mention here the ancient tribes of the *Kulinda*, *Kulūta*, (*Kolūta*, *Kōluka*) and *Kaulūta* (*Kaulubha*), who inhabited the high mountain ranges of the Himalaya in North India Their names occur in one form or other in the Mahabhārata, Ramayana, Viṣṇu Purāṇa, Brhatsamhitā, Mudrārāksasa and elsewhere in Sanskrit literature, while Ptolemy's *Κυλινδρινή* (*Kylindrine*, VII 1, 42) coincides in position with the country which some of these tribes formerly

⁴² Refer to pp 114 and 116, n 12 where the *Gaulas* are mentioned

See Mr Charles Grant's *Ga etteer of the Central Provinces* p 301

"Among the people (of Nagpur) tradition widespread though vague is not wanting pointing to a time far anterior to the Gonds when throughout Deogarh Gauli chiefs held sway The exploits and renown of these ancient chiefs are often referred to in the songs of the villagers There are forts too and tanks and temples, or remnants of such structures, evidently the handiwork of races preceding the Gonds 'It was a Gauli not a Gond king so our father told us,' thus is the common answer to all questions respecting such relics The same legend is told about the fortifications of Ramtek, *ibidem* p 428 Compare in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol I, pp 204, 205, Mr W F Sinclair's article on the "Gauli Raj" in Khandesh and the Central Provinces "I think therefore, that the most probable explanation of the *Gauli Rāj* is this,—that Gauli was the surname or nickname of a family of princes (and not of a nation) of Aryan race who established themselves in the valleys of the Tapti and Narmada during the great migration southward which ended in the colonization of the Dekhan by the Aryan Marathas" Mr Sinclair's remarks were criticized by Mr W Ramsay on p 258 notice also Mr Sinclair's query "Hemād Pant and the Gauli Rajas" in the *Indian Antiquary* vol VI, pp 277 278

Captain A Macintosh remarks in his 'Account of the Mahadeo Kohes' in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, vol V (1837) pp 251 252 'There is a popular tradition among the people in this part of the country, that the Gurses were the original inhabitants of the Dukhan and that they were displaced from the hilly tracts of the country by the race of Goulhes or cowherds These Goulhes it is said subsequently rebelled against their lawful prince, who detached an army that continued unceasing in their exer

occupied. The similarity of their name with that of the Kolis and of the Kulu district is therefore not accidental.⁴³

CHAPTER IX.

ON THE KÖIS, KONDs, KANDs, GONDs, &c

Much as the several tribes, whose names head this chapter, differ from one another in their manners, dialects and appearance, still there exists such a general resemblance between them, that, as has been pointed out by one of the greatest geographers of our century, the late *Karl Ritter*, all these various races, however considerable may be the distances at which they live apart from one another, must be

tions until they exterminated the entire race of Goullies. It is a common practice with such of the inhabitants of the plains as bury their dead, as well as the hill tribes to erect thurgahs (tombs commonly of a single stone), near the graves of their parents. In the vicinity of some of the holy villages and near the site of deserted ones, several of these thurgahs are occasionally to be seen, especially near the source of the Bhium river. The people say they belonged to Gursees and Goullies of former times. The stones with many figures in relief roughly carved upon them, and one of these holding a drum in his hand, and in the act of beating time on it, are considered to have belonged to the Gursees who are musicians by profession. The other thurgahs with a Saloonka (one of the emblems of Bhadoo) and a band of women forming a circle round it, with large pots on their heads, are said to be Gouilly monuments. This may be reckoned partly confirmatory of the tradition."

Consult about the Gauls also the *Gazetteer of Aurangabad*, pp 136, 226, 278, 279

⁴³ About references concerning *Kulinda*, *Kulita*, *Kilala*, *Kiluta* and *Kaulita* consult Bothlingh and Roth's *Sanskrit Wörterbuch*. About *Kaulidha* see Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol I, p 57 (p 75 second edition), and vol II, pp 206, 207. Lassen desires to substitute for *Kaulita* in *Mudrarakshasa* *Kaulidha* especially on the authority of Pliney who in his *Historia Naturalis*, lib VI, cap 22, mentions that "Ultra (Ungem) siti sunt Molubne, Molindae. Colakae Orxalie, etc." In vol I p 547 (561), Lassen speaks of the Kulindae "Die Kulinda wohnten nach dem Ptole im höchsten Himalaya und zwar ostwärts bis zu den Ganges-Quellen."

Ptolemy assigns the sources of the Vipata, Satadru, Yamuna and Ganga to the country *Kylindria*. "Υπὲρ δὲ τῆς Βελαιος καὶ τοῦ Ταπίδρον καὶ τοῦ Διαμῶνα καὶ τοῦ Γάγγου ἡ Ἀρταρπική." The inhabitants of this district were the *Kulindae*. About *Kylindria* compare also Sir A Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, pp 136-138, where it is identified with Jelan-l-kara, whose "antiquity is undoubted, as it is mentioned by Ptolemy as

regarded as representatives of one and the same nation. They are still in occupation of nearly the whole area of that portion of the Indian continent which stretches from Khandesh on the west to Ganjam on the east.

Kōi, Kuī (contracted into Ku), Gōdu, Gauda, Gōndu, Goandu, Gānd, Koand, Kond (Kondh, Khond) or Kand (Khand) are all derivatives, as has already been shown, from the root *Ko* or *Ku*, mountain, so that their very name indicates a mountaineer. I have previously alluded to the peculiarity that both Linguals and Dentals are used in the formation of the derivatives of *Kō*. We need not,

Kulindrine or *Et kulindrine*, which should probably be corrected to *Sulindrine*, as the *K* and *S* are frequently interchanged in Greek manuscripts."

Read also in H. H. Wilson's *Vishnu purāna* edited by F. Hall the notes on the Kulōtas (Kolākas) vol. II, p. 174, and Kulindas, p. 180. According to H. H. Wilson the Kulindas were mountaineers, see Fr. Jahn's Selections from the Mahabharata, p. 65.

Varāhamihira mentions the Kulōtas in his *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, Chapter XIV, al. 22 and 29.

Diśi paścimōttarasyām Maṇḍavya Tukhara-Taiḥhala Madrah,
Aśmaka Kulōta Lahaḍa Strirājya Nṛasīha Vanakhaṣṭhab 22
Aśānyām Mērukanaṣṭarājya-Pasupāla-Kira-Kāsmīrah.
Abhisāra Darada Tāḍaguna Kulōta Saurindha Vanarāṣṭrah 29

Sir Alexander Cunningham considers the question of these hill tribes at length in the *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. XIV, pp. 125-130, 137-139. "The origin of the Kunets, who form the bulk of the population in the valleys of the Bias, the Satlej and the Tons Rivers, has long engaged my attention, and I believe that I have now solved the puzzle by identifying them with the *Kumindas* or *Kulindas* of early Hindu history. Under both of these forms their name is still preserved in the districts of *Aulu* on the Bias and *Kandwar* on the Satlej. The *Vishnu Purāna* gives the name of *Kulinda*, which is supported by Ptolemy's *Kulindrine*, a district occupying the whole of the upper tract between the Bibasis or Bias River and the Ganges. It corresponds therefore most exactly with the Kunet District of the present day. Varāha Mihira places the *Kumindas* along with the Kashmiras, Abhisāras, Kulōtas, and Saurindhas, and makes their country one of his nine divisions of India. In another place he marks their position still more definitely as being to the east of Madras (*Madrasa anyascha Kauninla*). He also speaks of the King of the *Kumindas*. This was about A. D. 560, but we have coins of the King of *Kumanda* (*Rajanya Kumandasa*) which date before the Christian era. For *Kumanda* the *Mārkandeya Purāna* reads *Kaulinda*, which agrees with the *Kulinda* of the *Vishnu Purāna*. It would seem therefore that these are only two readings of the same name. This conjecture is strongly supported by the fact that much more than half of

therefore, be surprised to see that the Telugu *Kōdu*, e.g., corresponds to the Sanskrit *Konda* (in *Kōṇḍabhaṭṭa*) and *Gōnda*, though *konda* in Telugu signifies only mountain and not mountaineer, which meaning is expressed by *Kondarudu* 41

The principal Gond tribes call themselves *Kōtor*. Telugu people regard the last syllable *tor* of this term as identical with the word *dōra*, master, which is not improbable, as the Kōis affix this term to names, e.g., Bhīma is called by them *Bhīmadur*. The Kōis of the Bhadrācala and Rēkapalli taluks in the Upper Gōdāvarī district are called *Doralu* (masters) only by their Mala and Madiga servants, for this title is otherwise generally conceded only to the Velama land-owners

It is a well-known fact that a word often loses its original meaning when it is used as a proper name. *Kōi* designates

the population of Kulu is Kanet. . . I have now traced the Kaundās up to the third century B.C., when they were a rich and powerful people. But there is still earlier mention of the people in the Mahābhārata, where the Kulindas are said to have been conquered by Arjuna. From the context Wilson rightly concluded that they were mountaineers and neighbours of the Trigartas or people of Kangra. In the Vishnu Purāṇa I find not only the *Kulindas* but also *Kulindopatyakas* or 'Kulindas dwelling along the foot of the hills,' which describes exactly the tract of plain country bordering the hills in which Brughna, the capital of the Kaundās was situated." About *Kulu* or *Kul's* see Sir W. W. Hunter's *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. V, pp. 465-469. "The character of the hill-men resembles that of most other mountaineers in its mixture of simplicity, independence, and superstition. Polyandry still prevails in Searaj, but has almost died out elsewhere. It consists simply of a community of wives amongst brothers, who hold all their other goods in common, and regard their women as labourers on the farm. The temples usually occupy picturesque sites, and are dedicated rather to local deities than to the greater gods of the Hindu Pantheon."

Compare also Mr. J. W. McCrindle's *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, pp. 103, 105, 110.

"The Telugu people call the Gonds *Konds* or *Kandis*, *Aṅṅs*, *Aṅṅarḍu* (pl. *Kōyavāṇḍu*), *Kōṭu* (pl. *Kōṭalu*), *Gōnda*, *Kōṇḍarḍu*, &c. We read in Lieutenant Macpherson's *Report upon the Khonds of the Districts of Ganjam and Cuttack*, Calcutta, 1812, p. 29, § 42, the following account: "The Hindu name for this people which we have adopted, *Aṅṅs*, in the plural *Aṅṅarḍu*, means mountaineer, from the Telugu word signifying a hill. Their sole native appellation south of the *Mahanadī* is *Kōṅṅa* or *Kōṅṅa*, which may be a corruption of *Kāṅṅa*, which, by the exchange of certain letters may be *Kulinda*, meaning in Sanskrit and thence in Tamil a her-

thus a mountaineer, but this radical meaning of the term was forgotten by that tribe when some of them had settled permanently in the plains. The Malvāh or Gutta Kōis (Hill-Kōis) are in consequence distinguished from the Sassi-Kōis (Plain-Kōis). The Khonds, on the other hand, call their own country *Kui Dina* or *Kui Pruti*, and that of the Uriyas *Sassi Dina*.

The Kōis worship as deities Kāturādu, Adamarāju, Kor-rarāju (who governs the tigers), Kommalamma, Sārlamma, and others. The five Pāndava brothers, especially Arjuna and Bhīma, are highly revered. They have imitated the step of Bhīma in their dance. The Kōis or Kōyas in the Nizām's Dominions preserve a legend according to which they are descended from Bhīma and a wild superhuman woman whom he met in the woods.⁴⁵

barian a savage mountaineer. They employ as distinctive epithets of their race, the terms—*Subboro* and *Mullaro* the latter signifying *hill people* from a root common to Tamil and Telougoo, the Khonds designate the alpine portions of Orissa solely by its Hindu name (from the root) 'Malwa,' meaning *highlands*. The Hindu people they call *Sassi* a word whose signification is not ascertained. The Khonds who inhabit the mountains are styled *Malish Kōings* those of the low country *Sassi Kōings*.

The fifth volume of the *Caleutta Review* (January—June 1846) contains on p. 26 the following note: "Respecting the name of Khonds Lieutenant Hill remarks that in their own language 'they call themselves *Anee*. A single Khond is called *Kwings*. By Uriyas they are called *Khonds* and by the Telugus *Kolala* and often *Kodwanala* or hill people. According to Sir W. W. Hunter in his *Orissa* vol. II p. 71. "The word *handh*, like *Mal* and the tribal names of other hill tribes means in the aboriginal languages 'mountaineer'."

About the Gonds or Gāndas consult Mr. Charles Grant's *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces of India* pp. 100, 103, 217, 231, 412, 413 and 457. They cultivate some land in Islāgh, Laira and Bāmbālpur but they seem not to be regarded as good cultivators. The population of Laira is chiefly agricultural and consists of Gonds, Khonds and Gāndas. On the other hand the Gāndas are generally classified as weavers. Their number in the Central Provinces amounts to 250,133.

Kōings is the plural of *Kōi* *ngs* being the plural termination in the Hind language. A similar termination exists in the *kol* language on the Godavari e.g. *māra* tree *pl māraṅga* *gogḡḡi*, cock *gogḡḡiṅga* *konḡi*, cartilage *band* *ḡḡi* *gogḡḡi* etc. *gogḡḡiṅga*.

⁴⁵ See the Rev. John Cairns' articles on The Bhadrachallam and Rākapāḡḡa Talukā Godavari District, in the *Indian Antiquary* vol. V, p. 301.

The four tribes to whom the title *Kōitor* is applied are the Rāj Gond, Raghuwal, Padal and Dholi, and occasionally

303, 357-359, vol VIII, pp 33-36, 219-221, and vol X, pp 259-264. Read *ibidem*, vol V, pp 338, 359. "Formerly, on a certain day in the year the *Kōi* men of each village were driven into the jungle by the women to hunt, and were not allowed to return unless they brought home some game,—a small bird or even a rat, being enough to give them the right to be welcomed back. This practice is still carried on by the *Kōis* in the Bastar country, and also by many in the Nizāmā territory. Mr Vanstavern, whilst boring for coal at Beddidanolu, was visited on that day by all the *Kōi* women of the village, dressed up in their lords' clothes and they told him that they had that morning driven their husbands to the forest to bring home game of some kind or other. Mr Vanstavern also states that the *Kōis* round Beddidanolu do not eat the goat annually offered for a prosperous harvest, but leave it to itself in the jungle tied up to a tree.

"The *Kōis* say that the following gods and goddesses were appointed to be worshipped by the *Sādus* —*Muttalamu*, *Maridamādalashmi*, *Poturd-u*, and *Korazulu* and the following were to receive adoration from the *Kōis* —*Kem-matamma*, *Kūtāradu*, *Adimara-u*. The goddess *Māmā* or *Lēlo* must be propitiated early in the year, or else the crops will undoubtedly fail, and she is said to be very partial to human victims. All the *Kōis* seem to hold in great respect the *Pāṇḍava* brothers, especially *Arjuna* and *Bhīma*. The wild dogs or *dholis* are regarded as the *dāsas* or messengers of these brothers and the long black beetles which appear in large numbers at the beginning of the hot weather are called the *Pāṇḍava* flock of goats. Of course they would on no account attempt to kill a *dhol*, even though it should happen to attack their favourite calf, and they even regard it imprudent to interfere with these *dāsas* when they wish to feast upon their cattle." In vol VIII, p 34, we read "They say their dance is copied from *Bhīma's* march after a certain enemy. There is no *Kōi* temple in any village near here, and the *Kōis* are seldom if ever to be found near a Hindu temple."

In the Jeypore territory of the Nāgapatam district a similar practice as the abovementioned prevails. The men are often away for days in search of game, and if they return with none of an evening, their women put them with cow dung.

The *Historical and Descriptive Sketch of H H the Nizam's Dominions* remarks in vol I, pp 323, 326, about the *Kōis* as follows —"The *Kōyas* or *Kōis* (45,300) are an aboriginal race, found chiefly in the Khammam District (39,920). They belong to the same family as the *Gonds* and the other primitive races of Central and Southern India. The *Kōis* say that 'they are the descendants of *Bhīmadar*, and the local tradition is that when *Bhīmadar* accompanied his brother *Dharmā Ragu* to his forest exile he one day went hunting in the jungle, and there met a wild woman of the woods, whom he fell in love with and married. The fruit of their union was the *Kōi* people. The tradition further states that this wild woman was not a human being. The language spoken by them is similar in some respects to that of the *Gonds*. Like the latter they are noted for their truthful habits. The fruit of the *Ippa* tree is dried and reduced to powder. This is made into cakes and porridge forms their favourite and principal food for the greater part of

the Kolam The Marias who are likewise styled Koirur, represent perhaps now the purest type of the Gonds ⁴⁶

In ancient times these people occupied a much larger portion of India than they do now Their name appears in places far distant from one another, in the north, *e g*, in *Gonda* or *Gauda* in Oudh, in *Khandira* in the Central Provinces, in *Gondal* in Kathiawar, in *Khandesh* and *Khandala* in Bomhay, in *Gondrana* in Central India, while *Khandagiri* and *Khandapara* testify to their presence in Orissa Even

the year They also distil great quantities of an intoxicating drink from the flowers they will eat the flesh of every animal not even rejecting that of the cow They seldom remain long in one place, as soon as the productive powers of the soil are exhausted they move to another spot and make a fresh clearing They have no caste, their religion consists of belief in one Supreme Being they also worship the spirits of the mountains and a divinity who protects them from the ravages of tigers They regard heaven as a large and strong fort where there is an abundance of rice stored up for those who are permitted to enter Hell is a place in which an iron cow continually gnaws the flesh of the unfortunate persons detained there Widows' remarriages are allowed Their wedding ceremonies are exceedingly simple the betrothed couple have a triangular mark placed on their foreheads they then kneel together and the ceremony is completed by pouring water over the heads of both The personal appearance of both sexes is the reverse of prepossessing

"*The Gazetteer of the Central Provinces of India* edited by Mr Charles Grant, contains on pp 137 and 500 the following statements 'The Marias or as they are called towards the north the Kohiturs are in all probability the purest type of Gond It is worthy of note that in villages bordering upon the more cultivated tracts the change of name from Maria to Kohitar then to Jangli Gond, and then to Gond can be seen in progress and it is easy to imagine that a well-to-do Maria family calling themselves Gond might in two or three generations adopt the more fashionable style of Raj Gond (p 137) Gotes and Kois or as they are commonly called Gotewars and Horwars—the termination *war* being a Telugu suffix a qualifying person or man—are the aborigines of the country (Upper Godavari) Although almost identical in customs and in language they do not eat together or intermarry the Kois claiming superiority over the Gotes The proper name for the Kois is 'Koirur' and this is what they call themselves By the Telungas they are called Koidhoras the word 'dhora' meaning gentleman or sahib This error has probably arisen from the last syllable of 'Koirur' having been taken for 'dhora' owing to the similarity of sound The Kois where they come into contact with the Telungas population have adopted many of their customs The Gonds keep more aloof from civilisation but the customs of the two races are very similar and both belong to the Gond family (p 500)" Compare also *Indian Antiquary* vol XIII p 34 'The custom of calling the Kois *dhora* (*dhora* = lord Tel) has

now these tribes are found in all the Presidencies of Bombay, Madras, and Bengal, though their chief abode is in the Central Provinces.⁴⁷

The Uriyas aspirate the final *d*, hence the name is often spelt Kondh or Kandh, but this pronunciation is only local.

Wherever the Gonda, Konds, or Kands are found in their own homesteads, far from strangers, they have preserved their national virtues, among which honesty, fidelity, and hospitality occupy a prominent position. Like many other wild tribes they are brave, but they are also cruel and very superstitious. In those parts of the country where they dwell, the simple-minded Gonds are feared as dangerous sorcerers and intimate friends of the evil spirits.

About the *Religious Doctrines* of the Khonds Captain Macpherson makes the following remarks: "There is one Supreme

been traced by some (*Central Provinces Gazetteer*, p. 500) to the ending *tor* in the word *Kistor*. This has always seemed to me (Rev Mr Cain) rather doubtful, as this honorific affix is not only conceded to the *Koss*, but also to several other castes, e.g., the (true) Vellamma caste, and to all the most influential natives in the independent or semi-independent neighbouring states." The Gonds in the Singhbhum District are called *Dorowas* or *Naks*. See Dalton's *Ethnology*, p. 277, and Grant's *Gazetteer*, p. 137. Elsewhere in Narasingpur are found the Dhur Gonds which term appears to be identical with the Dharwe or Naik Gonds. I wonder what is the meaning of the term Dhur (Dharwe or Dorowas), and whether it is connected with the word *dora*.

About the Marias consult also the *Report of the Dependency of Bastar* by Deputy Commissioner C. L. R. Glasford, pp. 46-52. "104. The Marias and Jhoorias, I should say, are, strictly speaking, a sub-division of the true Gond family."

"See Lieutenant Macpherson, p. 13, § 13. "The Khonds are now seen, in both of these situations, within the following ill-defined limits. Upon the east they appear scattered over the wilder tracts of the Ganjam district bordering upon the Chilka Lake, and are seen in that quarter at a few points, upon the coast of the Bay of Bengal. They are found, on the north-west, on the confines of Gondwana, in longitude 83°, while on the west, they extend within the unsurveyed frontier of Berar. They are found as far south as Bastar in latitude 19° 40', while the Zemindary of Palconda is like that of Kunnappoor possessed by a Khond Chief. On the south-east, they are replaced on the limits of the Souradah and Moherry districts in Ganjam, by the Sourah race, which henceforward occupies the eastern acclivities of the Ghauts to the Godavery. To the north, fifty miles beyond the Mahanuddie, in the meridian of Boad they are succeeded by the Kolo people. On the north-east, they are found high

" Being, self-existing, the Source of Good, and Creator of the
 " Universe, of the inferior gods, and of man. This divinity
 " is called in some districts, Boora Pennu, or the God of
 " Light; in others, Bella Pennu, or the Sun God; and the
 " sun and the place from which it rises beyond the sea are
 " the chief seats of his presence Boora Pennu, in the
 " beginning, created for himself a consort, who became Tari
 " Pennu, or the Earth Goddess, and the Source of Evil.
 " He afterwards created the Earth As Boora Pennu walked
 " upon it with Tari, he found her wanting in affectionate
 " compliance and attention as a wife, and resolved to create
 " from its substance, a new being, Man, who should render to
 " him the most assiduous and devoted service, and to form
 " from it also every variety of animal and vegetable life
 " necessary to man's existence. Tari was filled with jealousy,
 " and attempted to prevent his purpose, but succeeded only
 " so far as to change the intended order of creation. . . Tari
 " Pennu then placed her hands over the earth, and said,

" in Cuttack, while Sourahs (not identified with the southern race) there
 " inhabit the inferior ridges of the Ghats " (Compare his " Account of the
 " Religion of the Rhonds " in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol
 " XIII, pp 220, 221)

Compare also *Papers relating to the Aboriginal Tribes of the Central
 Provinces* left in MSS, by the late Rev Stephen Hishop, missionary of the
 Free Church of Scotland at Nagpore* edited, with notes and preface, by
 R Temple, C S I, 1866, pp 3 and 4 " The name of Gond, or Gund, seems
 " to be a form of Kond, or Kund, the initial gutturals of the two words being
 " interchangeable Both forms are most probably connected with Konda—
 " the Telooگو equivalent for a mountain—and therefore will signify ' the hill
 " people ' And no designation could be more appropriate to the localities
 " which the majority of them inhabit Though they are also found residing
 " in the villages of the plains along with the more civilized Hindus, yet
 " they chiefly frequent the mountain ranges lying between 18° 40' and 23° 40'
 " north latitude, and between 76° and 82½ east longitude This tract some-
 " what corresponds with the old Mahomedan division of Gondwana, but differs
 " from it in not reaching so far to the east and in extending considerably
 " further towards the south-east. The Moghul geographers seem to have
 " included with the Gonds of Nagpore the Kols on their east frontier, and to
 " have been ignorant of the relationship between them and the inhabitants
 " of Bastar In the north, Gonds are met with about Sangor and near the
 " source of the Hambo, on the east, they cross that river into Sarguja, where
 " they border on the Kols, and are found with Konds and Uriyas in Nowa-

“ ‘Let these beings you have made exist; you shall create no more.’ Whereupon Boora caused an exudation of sweat to proceed from his body, collected it in his hand, and threw it around, saying: ‘To all that I have created,’ and thence arose love, and sex, and the continuation of species. The creation was perfectly free from moral and physical evil. Man enjoyed free intercourse with the Creator. They lived without labour. . in perfect harmony and peace. They went unclothed. . The lower animals were all perfectly innocuous. The Earth Goddess, highly incensed at the love shown towards man thus created and endowed, broke into open rebellion against Boora, and resolved to blast the loss of his new creature by the introduction into the world of every form of moral and physical evil. . . A few individuals of mankind entirely rejected evil, and remained sinless; the rest all yielded to its power, and fell into a state of universal disobedience to the Deity, and fierce strife with one another. Boora immediately deified the sinless few without their suffering death. . . Upon the corrupted mass of man-

“ gudda, Kareal, and Kharond or Kalahandi, in the south, they form the mass of the population of Bastar and a portion of the inhabitants of Jeypur (in the Madras Presidency), while they occupy the hills along the left bank of the Godavery about Nuzvid, and on the west, they are intermingled with the Hindus of Berar for 30 miles from the right bank of the Wurdah, and, along the Kars, extend along the hills both north and south of the Narbidda to the meridian of Hindia, where they give place to the Bhils and Nahals

“ In such a large extent of country, as might be expected, they are divided into various branches, and distinguished by specific names. The classification adopted by themselves is into twelve and a half castes or classes, in imitation of the Hindus. These are—Raj Gond, Raghuwal, Dadarc, Katulya, Padal, Dhola, Ojhyal, Thotyal, Koulabhatul, Koulopal, Kolam, Madyal, and an inferior sort of Padal as the half caste. The first four, with the addition, according to some of the Kolam, are comprehended under the name of Koutor—the Gond, *par excellence*. This term, in its radical form of Kos, occurs over a wide area, being the name given to the Maria sacrificing aborigines of Orissa and to the jungle tribes skirting the east bank of the Godavery from the apex of the delta as far up nearly as the mouth of the Indrawati. Its meaning is evidently associated with the idea of a hill, the Persian name of which, *Koh*, approaches it more closely than even the Teloo-goo, *Konda*. I need scarcely, therefore, add

"kind, Boora Pennu inflicted high moral penalties, and . .
 "entirely withdrew his face and his immediate guardianship
 "from mankind. He made all who had fallen subject to
 "death . . Universal discord and war prevailed . . Diseases and
 "death came upon all creatures; snakes became venomous . .
 "Man . . sank into a state of abject suffering and degrada-
 "tion . . Meanwhile, Boora and Tari contended for superiority
 "in fierce conflict; their terrible strife raging throughout
 "the earth, the sea and the sky; their chief weapons being
 "mountains, meteors and whirlwinds Up to this point, the
 "Khonds hold the same belief; but from it, they divide into
 "two sects directly opposed upon the great question of the
 "issue of the contest between Boora and his rebel consort . .
 "The sect of Boora believe that he proved triumphant in the
 "contest, and, as an abiding sign of the discomfiture of
 "Tari, imposed the cares of childbirth upon her sex . . The
 "sect of Tari hold, upon the other hand, that she re-
 "mained unconquered, and still maintains the struggle with
 "various success" ⁴⁵ I give this interesting story of the

"that it has no connection with the interrogative *Ket*, as some have sup-
 "posed, nor has Kotor any relation to the Sanskrit *Kshatriya*, as suggested by
 "Sir R. Jenkins. Though there are a few of the more wealthy Kotoras who
 "would gladly pass themselves off as Rajputs, yet the great majority of
 "those known by that name resent, with no small vehemence, the imputation
 "of belonging to any portion of the Hindu community. The sacred thread
 "of the twice born, instead of being an object of ambition, is to them a
 "source of defilement."

The passage on the Gonds and Khonds in C. Lassen's *Indische Alterthums-
 kunde*, vol. I, pp. 426-432 (or pp. 373-78), should be consulted as well as
 those in the Rev. M. A. Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, vol. II, pp. 134-
 152, and vol. III, pp. 200 and 206, and Colonel Dalton's *Ethnology of Bengal*,
 pp. 275-304. In the second volume of H. H. Wilson's *Vishnupurana*
 published by F. Hall, p. 163, *Shanda* is read instead of *Khandā*.

⁴⁵ Lieutenant Macpherson gives in his report on p. 61 a list of the Khond
 deities and divides them into national and local deities. "In the first class
 are (1) Bera Pennoo or the Earth god, (2) Bella Pennoo, the Sun god, and
 Danzoo Pennoo, the Moon god. (3) Sunde Pennoo, the god of Limits,
 (4) Loha Pennoo, the Iron god or god of Arms, (5) Joogah Pennoo, the god
 of Small pox, (6) Nadzoo Pennoo, or the Village deity, the universal
 genius loci, (7) Sora Pennoo, the Hill god, Jora Pennoo, the god of Streams,
 and Gossa Pennoo, the Forest god, (8) Moonda Pennoo, the Tank god.

creation of the world and the fall of man which Macpherson ascribes to the Khonds. It reminds one, however, in many of its features of the Biblical Accounts, and fills one with wonder that such an uncivilised Indian tribe as the Khonds should have so beautiful a legend of their own.

In the human sacrifices which these tribes offered up in days not long gone by and which even now they have not altogether abandoned, they displayed an indescribable

(9) Soogoo Pennoo or S drojoo Pennoo the god of Fountains (10) Pidzoo Pennoo the god of Rain (11) Pilamoo Pennoo the god of Hunting (12) god of Births. Lieutenant (Captain) Macpherson's Report was reprinted under the title of "An Account of the Religious Opinions and Observances of the Khonds of Oomsoor and Boud" in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* vol VII (1813) pp 172-199 and "An Account of the Ghonds in Orissa" in vol VIII 185 pp 216-274 of the same journal. Besides Bura and Tari there are (pp 276-278) inferior gods divided into two classes distinguished by their origin their attributes and the scope of their duties and authority. The gods of the first class sprang from Boori and Tari. 1 Pidzoo Pennoo the god of Rain 2 Boorbi Pennoo the goddess of new Vegetation and First Fruits 3 Peteri Pennoo the God of increase 4 Klambi Pennoo the God of the Chase 5 Lohapennoo the God of war 6 Sunli Pennoo the God of Boundaries 7 Dngalennoo the Judge of the dead. The third class of inferior deities are sprung from the Gods of the first two classes. They are the strictly minor and local deities of the Khonds. The following are the chief of this class of gods. 1 Naddu Pennoo the Village God 2 Soro Pennoo the Hill God 3 Jori Pennoo, the God of Streams 4 Tozu Pennoo the Family or House God 5 Mounda Pennoo the Tank God 6 Sooga Pennoo the God of Fountains 7 Gosa Pennoo the Forest God 8 Koozi Pennoo the God of Ravines, 9 Dhore Pennoo the God of New Fruits, produced on trees or shrubs. These two accounts differ in some respects. On pp 243-56 the worship of Tari Pennoo is described. In the worship paid to Tari Pennoo by her sect the Chief rite is human sacrifice. It is celebrated as a public oblation by tribes, branches of tribes or villages both at social festivals held periodically and when special occasions demand extraordinary propitiations. And besides these social offerings, the rite is performed by individuals to avert the wrath of Tari from themselves and their families. According to Mr Grant (p. 106) the Gonds worship as a rule only Bura Deo and Dola Deo.

Colonel Dalton says in his *Ethnology of Bengal* on p 281: The Gonds are however found to have one common object of worship called according to the linguistic peculiarities of the locality Bura Deo Bada Deo, or Badihi Pen Pen and Deo mean the same but the significance of Bura or Bada I am not sure of. Major Macpherson tells us that Bura Pen the hand god, means the god of light. I was credibly informed that the Gonds of Sarguja formerly offered human sacrifices to Bura Deo.

Mr Glasford 48-57 remarks about the religion of the tribes in *Bihar* as follows: The Mooreas, Bhutias, Dhakurs, Gudwas Maras &c and

atrocity Yet, as an excuse for them, it ought not to be forgotten that their peculiar ideas about right and wrong made them believe that they had acquired a right of disposing of their Menaah victims, as they had bought and paid for them The great goddess of the Earth, their principal divinity, could only be propitiated by human blood, to grant good pastures for their flocks and rich crops for their own support The buffalo was by some Khonds sacrificed instead of the human being These tribes depend for their living mainly on the produce of the earth which they till, for besides hunting they do not follow any other pursuit Trading for instance, is unknown to them

worship Dunteshwaree or as she is sometimes called 'Maalee' with 'Matha Devee' Bhungarma or 'Dholla Devee' Gam Devee 'Dongur Deo' and Bheem The higher castes worship Dunteshwaree and Matha Devee with the other well known deities of the Hindoo Pantheon She is the same as Bhowanee or 'Kelee' Temples to Dunteshwaree or Maalee exist all over the vicinity of Jugdulpore and Dunteware The temples to 'Matha Devee' are perhaps as numerous if not more so They are easily recognised by swings in front of the shed erected over the semblance of the goddess which is generally a stone daubed with red although I have more than once seen her represented by a grotesquely carved figure dressed as a female with a female attendant on each side When small pox appears th person (her Poojree) becomes of great importance Bhungarma or Dholla Devee is said to be the sister of Matha Devee She also has a swing put up before her temple and is worshipped when cholera appears but as small pox is much more frequent in its visits her worship is much neglected

The Jhoornas Mooreas and Maras do worship the above mentioned gods especially towards Narayenpoor Ubuyard Kootroo &c The peculiar deity of the Jhoornas is Unga Deo he is represented by a piece of wood fastened to a framework made of four sticks It has been the custom for the Bustar Rajahs to have a duplicate of the Jhoornas 'Unga Deo' kept at Bustar Whenever any epidemic appears the Unga Deo at Narayenpoor is called for and the duplicate sent in its stead Sacrifices are made to the new arrival and he is requested to state whether the cholera or the small pox as the case may be will soon disappear The Marces of 'Ubuyard' call their god Pen this word literally means god They have several gods which resemble the 'Unga Deo' of the Jhoornas The most noted of those in the Marce country under Kootroo are 'Deda Maida' at Kolnar and 'Kookung Mora' at the village of Dewaloor they are both represented by logs of wood The Deda Maida at Kolnar is the favorite deity of these wild people and in the month of May there is a festival at Kolnar at which all the Marces from far and near congregate and spend three days in dancing and drinking and singing Throughout the Dependency the grossest ignorance and superstition prevail and hold the minds of

Contact with Hindus more highly civilised exercised a remarkably deteriorating influence on the Gond tribes, who soon began to lose their own virtues and sink to a lower social condition. Harsh treatment, coupled with spiteful scorn renders men callous and demoralises. Ignorant and uncivilised aborigines when they are under the influence of civilised and unscrupulous persons are especially subject to such degeneration. The *Candalas* are an illustration of this assertion.

They were probably the first Gaudian tribe whom the Aryan invaders reduced to abject servitude and who became thus the prototype of the lowest Indian belots which condition they share with the Dravidian Pariahs. The word *Candala* is evidently a modification of *Kandala*, a tribe mentioned by Ptolemy.⁴⁹

Manu stigmatises a Candala as the offspring of a Śūdra man and a Brahman woman which definition, fostering no

the people from the highest to the lowest in miserable thralldom. The simple and unsophisticated Gond tribes are believed to be expert necromancers and on the most intimate footing with evil spirits. Considering their secluded position from civilized life their gross ignorance and the solitary jungles they live in it is perhaps not to be wondered at that the people invariably impute their misfortunes to witchcraft.

Compare also the article *Gonds and Kurus* by Mr W Ramsay in the *Indian Antiquary* vol I pp 128-129. The Gond admits none of the Hindu deities into his pantheon and is moreover bound on occasions of death to slay a cow and pour its blood on the grave to ensure peace and rest for the manes of the departed. In my experience Gonds almost always bury the dead. The Gond deities are numerous hill tops deities are favorite objects of adoration. Mr Ramsay treats on the same subject on pp 318-320 and he observes. It is worthy of remark that one of the ceremonies after a death consists in killing a cow and sprinkling its blood over the grave in default of this it is said that the spirit of the departed refuses to rest and returns upon earth to haunt its relatives in life. Allusions to the Gonds are also contained in the *Indian Antiquary* vol III p 224 vol VI p 253 vol IX p 140 and vol X p 391.

Read also the remarks on the Khonds in Sir W W Hunter's *Orissa* vol II pp 67-107 283-8 and the article On the Uriya and Kondh Population of Orissa by Lieut J P Frye, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* vol XVII (1860) pp 1-33.

⁴⁹ See p 32

doubt the prejudices of caste by assigning to the detested offspring of such persons a despised rank, does not explain the ethnological position of the original Candālas⁵⁰ The late Rev Dr John Wilson was, so far as I know, the first to recognize in the Candalas the Kandaloī of Ptolemy.⁵¹ The name of the Candalas has great similarity with that of the Rajput *Candels* (whose Gond origin is an admitted fact), *Candas*, *Candals*, and *Candanis*, and others. The Candalas prevail in the Gaudian districts of the North, for, of the 1,779,047 Candalas who appear in the Indian Census report, 173,532 live in Assam, 1,576,076 in Bengal, and 29,439 in the Central Provinces

Konda is even now a name common to Candalas, so that their original identity with the Gond race is likewise suggested by this circumstance.

I must also not omit to allude here to the *Kuntalas* (Kōntalas), *Kundalas* and other tribes who are mentioned in Sanskrit writings. The famous capital *Kundina* (Kundīnapura) where Bhīṣma or Bhīṣmaka held his court, so celebrated

⁵⁰ Compare *Manavadharmaśāstra*, X, 12

Śodhrādayōgarah kṣattā candalāś cadhamo nṛnam

Vaiśyārājanyaviprasa jayante varṇasankarāḥ

About the Candālas compare also *Mahābhārata*, *Anuśāsanaparva*, 2621, and J. Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, vol I, p 481

Consult also the *Memoirs of the Origin of Slaves*, by Rāmappa Karnik of Burkur, translated and annotated by Mr Joseph Saldanha, Court Sheristadar at Mangalore, and printed by Dr Shortt in the IV Part of *The Hill Ranges of Southern India*, pp 15-37, p 17 "Sub division of Chandālas. The Chandālas are subdivided as follows *a* Hambatar or Faminadas, *b* Panar, *c* Hassalar, *d* Paravar, *e* Belar or Medarar, *f*. Battadar, *g* Merar, *h* Karajar, *i* Asadi, *j* Holeya, *k* Madiga, *l* Bakada with three sub divisions, I. Chnjana Bakada, II Turibina Bakada, III Goddina Bakada, *m* Nuliga, *n* Kappata Koragar, *o* Soppina Koragar (This class speak a language peculiar to themselves which they won't give out under any circumstances)"

The Hindu Law recognizes fifteen different classes of Slaves or Candālas

⁵¹ Read Dr John Wilson's *Indian Caste*, vol I, p 57 "A Chandāla, the lowest of mortals, whose tribe is recognized by Ptolemy as that of the *Kandaloī* or *Gondaloī*, on the river Tapti, perhaps the Gonds—adjoining the *Phyllisae* of the same author, identified as the *Bhills*—or the *Gondhals*, still a wandering tribe of the *Mahārāshtra* "

by his beautiful daughter Rukmini, may perhaps be connected with the aboriginal Gond race.

Khande Rāra (Khandōbā) or *Khandōji* is, like Bhairava, an incarnation of Śiva and much worshipped by the lower classes in the Marāṭha country. In that district he is every where revered as a house-hold deity and numerous temples are erected for his worship. The shepherds claim him as their tutelary deity. He is most frequently represented as riding on horseback, attended by a dog and accompanied by his wife *Malsara*, another form of Pārvatī. As he generally carries in his hand a big sword, his name is popularly derived from *lhande*, sword. I regard this explanation as very problematic, and, taking him as a representative national deity, prefer to connect his name with the aboriginal Khand people of Khandesh and its neighbourhood. It is now perhaps impossible to ascertain whether his worship is connected with the existence of a deified Khand leader. No historical record on this topic has come to us. I explain the common term Khandōbā as originating from *Khandā* (khande) + *bā*, a familiar Marāṭhi form for *bapā*, father; compare *Gandā Gandā*, *Mahīṣa Mahodā*, *Viṣṭhala Viṣhōdā*, *Vināyaka Vinōdā*, &c.¹²

¹² About "*Konds*, a name common to Chindāgar," see Rev. W. Rees's *Caususes and English Dictionary*, revised by Dr. Sanderson, p. 326. The name of *Khande Rāra* is in Molesworth's *Marāṭhi and English Dictionary* (second edition), p. 193, explained as "खण्ड, in (खण्ड Sword, and रा) An incarnation of Shiva." The word *खण्ड* is peculiarly enough not found in this Marāṭhi dictionary in the sense of sword, though seven different meanings of this word are given on p. 191 and nine various renderings of *खण्ड* are contained on p. 202, without, however, mentioning that of sword. The Hindustani *खण्ड-खण्ड*, sword, is explained as a derivation of the Sanskrit *खण्ड-खण्ड*. *Khand* in the Urdu language signifies a sword. Even if this etymology is correct, it is not at all necessary that the term *khande* in *Khande Rāra* has the same origin. Many Indian gods carry, like *Khand*, a sword, but are not called after it.

The *Khande Purāṇa* by Edward Moor, F.R.S., Madras, 1866, contains on pp. 245, 26, an account of Khand's, "What I have to relate of *Khande Rāra* is gathered chiefly from Purna Brahmans, who state, that Śiva became incarnate in his personage for the purpose of destroying an

It is perhaps worth mentioning here that the Gaudian Koragas, of whom I shall speak in the next chapter, place on a hillock a stone, which they worship, while most of the

oppressive giant, named *Mam mal*, at a place in the Carnatic, called *Phemer Parvati*, they say, under the name of *Malsara*, accompanied her lord who appeared as a man clothed in green he is generally represented with *Parvati* on horseback, attended frequently by a dog. The giant *Mam mal* made a most desperate defence against Kande Rao's attack, but was at length slain whereupon all the oppressed subjects of this giant paid adoration to *Kande Rao* to the number, as the story goes, of seven Kroor of people, whence this Avatara is called *Yehl-khut Yehl*, in a dialect of the Carnatic, being seven, and *Khut*, or *Kool*, being a *Mahata* pronunciation of Kroor (100,00,000), a hundred lakh, or ten millions. About Khandoba consult also Rev Stevenson's article "On the Modern Deities worshipped by the Hindus in the Dekkan" in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol VII, pp 100-112. "The first in order of the modern deities is Khandoba, as he is usually termed by way of respect, or more properly Khande Rao. This name may have been given him from his breaking the hosts of his enemies, or from his wearing a particular kind of sword called in Marathi 'khanda.' His Sanskrit name is Mallari, which has been given him from the Daitya he vanquished. This name is corrupted into Mahhar. There is a legend relative to this deity called the Mallari Mahatmya, which professes to belong to the Kshetra Kanda of the Brahmanda Purana. It is a dialogue between Parvati and Mahadeva, the latter of whom merely repeats what Sanat Kumara narrated formerly to the sages engaged in performing austerities in the Naimisha forest. The scene of this romance is laid at a low range of hills called in Sanskrit the Mam Chada (jewel cliff) and in Marathi, Khade Pathar (table land above the cliff). The town of Jejuri, which lies about thirty miles east from Poonah, is built close to its western extremity. At this place, according to the legend certain Brahmans were interrupted in their devotions by a Daitya called Malla, who with his brother Mani and a great army beat and ill used the Brahmans. In Sir John Malcolm's account of the Uhils, in the first volume of the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, mention is made of a powerful tribe of these freebooters, who derive their origin from a place called Toran Malla. Their remotest ancestor, in the same account, is said to have murdered a Brahman, and carried off his daughter, and one of their patriarchs, Kunda Rana, with his brothers, to have conquered and ruled over all the surrounding country. By some one of that tribe probably the Brahmans were oppressed when they called in the aid of some other local prince called Khande Rao. The Champaka Shashti is directed to be held particularly sacred to Mallari. It is the sixth day of the increase of the moon in the month Margashirsha (November-December). This is the great day accordingly at Jejuri, where Khandoba's principal temple is. It formerly stood on the top of the hill, but on being rededicated by Malhar Rao Holkar, the first famous Maratha leader of that name, whose family god Khande Rao was, the site was changed to a level spot, but a little way from the base of the mountain. The approach is by a pretty broad flight of stone stairs. The third landing-place is the platform

other Candalas of the district revere a deity called *Kandiya*, who is most probably identical with *Khandōba*.³³

In a similar way I am inclined to associate the name of the Khandesh district with *Khanda*. Khandesh can be explained as signifying the Khaud country, *Khanda* + *dēśa*, *Khandadēśa* contracted into *Khandēśa*, Khandesh. It is also possible to interpret it as the name of the lord of the Khands, *Khanda*, + *īśa*, *Khandēśa*.³⁴

Some religious customs can be traced to the Gonds. It is thus not unlikely that the Gondapa worship, in which the Marāṭha Brahmans and other Hindus revere Pārvatī, is of Gond origin, equally as the *Gondāḷa* ceremony among the Kolis. In this case the tribal name of the Gaudian *Gondhālis* has been substituted to call the performance after the performers, which circumstance was forgotten in course of time. The term Pariah in its wrong derivation

of the temple. Inside there is the image of Khande Rao and his wife Bihalsā, placed behind a Langa, which is raised a little from the floor... Although from the local nature of the worship of Khande Rao, the surname of Rao, and the engrafting of this worship on the more ancient adoration of the Linga, it would appear to be comparatively modern, still we cannot trace its origin by the light of authentic history."

The passage in the *Gazetteer of Aurangabad*, pp. 344-346, is taken from this account, to which is added the statement that "Khande Rao or Khandoba of Ujāin was the great champion of Brahmanism in the seventh century of the Christian era." The authority of this statement is unknown to me.

About the worship of *Khandōba* compare also the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. X, p. 286, in the article *Murtis and Wāghdās*.

³³ In the *Memoir of the Origin of Slaves* we read on p. 23 "The two classes of Korigars place some stone on a hallock, worship it by performing Pūja, as the god of Koragurs. The remaining classes worship a deity called Kandiya and pay her vows."

³⁴ About the name of Khandesh compare "Rough Notes on Khandesh" by W. F. Sinclair, B.C.S., in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. IV, p. 103. "The term *Kāśadēś* is of doubtful derivation. It has been supposed to refer to the title of *Kāsh* used by the Sultans of Burhanpur, and has also been derived from *Kāśā-dēś*, 'land of Kāshpa,' (conf. Kāshpur), from *Tan-dēś*, 'the land of thirst,' in allusion to its arid plains and scanty rainfall, facetiously from *Kāptadēś* 'the land of thorns,' in which it certainly abounds and finally the author of the *Ajma Alkari* and other Musulman writers allude to it as 'Khandesh, otherwise called Dandesh,' which might be derived from 'Dangdēś,' the mountain and the plain. I am inclined myself to

from *parai*, drum, offers a parallel example, as I have previously explained on p. 32.⁵⁵

If *Gondophares* can be accepted as the actual name of the well-known Parthian king who ruled in North-Western India in the neighbourhood of Peshawar, one may possibly associate his name with that of the Gaudian or Gond tribe. However, the name appears in so many variations on coins and inscriptions that it is a difficult matter to settle. On the Greek obverse of some coins we read *Yndopherres*, which Dr. Aurel Stein inclines to identify with the Old-Persian *Vindaferna*, winning glory. On the Arian-Pāli reverse *Gudaphara* or *Gadaphara* is generally found. The name of *Gondophares* is of additional interest as the legend connects it with the visit of the Apostle Thomas to India. The locality of the adventures of Saint Thomas was eventually transplanted to South India; and Mailapur, now a suburb of

believe in the derivation from *Kaph*, and to suppose that it was afterwards altered by the Musulmans to the modern form. *Krishna*, under the name of *Khapdoba*, is at this day, and would seem to have long been, a favorite divinity in the country."

By substituting *Khapdoba* for *Kṛṣṇa* Mr. Sinclair supports my theory, though *Khapdoba* as a representation of Śiva could hardly be identical with *Kṛṣṇa*.

⁵⁵ See "An Account of the Bhadeo Kohes," by Captain A. Macintosh in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Sciences*, vol. V, pp. 108-111: "Whatever malady man, woman, or child, or even their cattle, may be seized with, the Kohes imagine it is produced by the agency of some evil spirit or offended deity . . . two or three sheep are sacrificed as a peace-offering to the goddess Bhoany (Dewee) and the gods Khundobah and Bhyroo, and the Gondul ceremony takes place afterwards."

In H. H. Wilson's *Glossary* we read on p. 182: "*Gondana*, *Gondala*, or *Gondli*, *Gondhala*, or *Gondal*. A tumultuous festivity in honour of the goddess Devi, celebrated, even in Mysore, chiefly by Maratha Brahmans, it being a Maratha festival (from the Mar. *Gondhala*, tumult, bustle), consisting of music, and dancing, and recitation of mythological stories . . . It is probably the same thing as the *Gondhal*."

"*Gondhali*, incorrectly *Gondali*, and *Gondli*, or *Gondles*, corruptly *Gondulles*. The name of a caste, or individual of it, whose business it is to sing and dance, and perform the *Gondhal* in some places the *Gondhali* is the village drummer, sometimes he is a vagrant musician, dancer, and tumbler, or subsists by begging."

Read also *Historical and Descriptive Sketch of His Highness the Nizam's Dominions*, vol. I, pp. 316, 317: "The *Gondhalis*.—Members of this sect."

Madras, is pointed out as the place of his last mission and of his passion. Peculiarly enough, we find that the Rāja of Mailapur, who is associated with Saint Thomas, is called *Kandappa*, a name which has some resemblance with Gondaphares, a variation of Gondophares. It must, however, be mentioned that *Kanda* or *Kandappa* is the Tamil form of Skanda, the well-known Śubrahmanya, whose vehicle is the peacock, in Tamil *mayil*, மயில். Professor Gutschmid has identified Gundophares with Caspar, one of the three Magi who went to Bethlehem. I have already explained in my monograph on Prester John the names of the three holy kings as representing the countries whence they came. *Melchior*, king of Nubia, became thus *Malki y'ôr*, king of the Nile, *Balthasar*, king of Saba, *Bēlsazzar*, king of the Chaldeans, and *Kaspar*, king of Tarsis in Central Asia, *Kas-bār*, the ruler of the Casia regio.⁵⁵

are distributed chiefly in the Bider, Naldurg, Aurangabad, Bīrh and Nandsāir districts. They are usually attached to temples, though some are wandering mendicants. Numbers of them are found at Tuljapur. They perform what is known as the Gondhal ceremony at the houses of Brahmins in the Dasara, Hanuman's birthday and the coconut holidays. This ceremony can only be performed by married members of the sect, and those so entitled to perform it wear a string of cowries round their necks. They bury their dead and shave their beards as a sign of mourning." See *Gazetteer of Aurangabad*, p. 309: "They dance at Hindu weddings with a lighted torch in their hands."

Compare note 51 on p. 150.

⁵⁵ The variations of Gondaphares are: Gandophares, Gundopharus, Gundoforus, Yndopheres, Gudaphara, Gadaphara, Godaphara.

See on this subject *The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum*, by Percy Gardner, LL.D., edited by R. S. Poole, LL.D.; Introduction, pp. xliii, xlv, lxxiii; 103-107, 174. With respect to dental and lingual *d* the editor makes on p. lxx the remark: "I cannot distinguish on the coins between *na* and *pa*, *da* and *ga*." The nasal in *Ga* (*Ga* or *Go*) *daphara* has been omitted as in the name of Menander, which is spelt *Menadra*.

Read also Dr. M. Aurel Stein's *Zoroastrian Deities in Indo-Scythian Coins*, p. 13.

Among the articles of the pioneers of Indian Archaeology consult T. Prinsep's *Notes on the Historical Results deducible from recent Discoveries in Afghanistan*, London, 1844, and his *Essays on Indian Antiquities*; H. H. Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*, pp. 256, 310, 342; Christian Lassen's monograph *Zur Geschichte der Griechischen und Indostythischen Könige* and especially in

CHAPTER X

ON THE KODAGAS, KORAGAS, KORAVAS, TODAS, AND KOTAS.

The Kodagas

The *Kodagas* or *Kurgs* are the inhabitants of Kurg and represent the dominant tribe of that province. They are a hardy race, independent and proud of the liberty they enjoy. A foreign dynasty of Langayat Rajas ruled over them till 1834. Their country is generally called *Kudagu* or *Kodagu*, which term signifies, according to my opinion, mountain-tract. The beginning of this word means mountain, and the suffix *gu* is added to its end. A Kurgman is called *Kodagam* or *Kudagan*, but the term *Kufarian* is used in Malayalam besides *Kutakan* for the gutturals, as we have seen, interchange occasionally with the semi-vowel *r*. The syllable *an* indicates the pronoun of the third person masculine.

his *Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol. II pp. 391-397. "In dem dritten von diesen Reichen dessen Daseyn nur durch die Münzen uns bezeugt wird in Arachosien war *Endopherres* oder *Gondophares* der Wiederhersteller der Parthischen Herrschaft. Die letztere Form ist die einheimische gewesen, weil *s o* in den Arianischen Inschriften vorkommt. (Wo die Vocalzeichen noch vorhanden sind ist der Name *Guduphara* zu lesen das *n* scheint nicht bezeichnet zu seyn wenigstens nicht wie auf den Münzen des Menandros). Seine Münzen stellen uns gleichsam im Umriss die Geschichte seiner Thaten vor. Zwei seiner Typen sind zweifelhafter Deutung. Die zweite ist ihm und seinem Nachfolger e. genthümlich. Auf dieser Münze erscheint eine Gestalt in Indischer Tracht mit einem Lepter. Vielleicht ist es der König selbst. Wenn dieses nicht gut ist kann daraus gefolgert werden, dass er wenn auch nicht eigentliche Inder was unmöglich ist, doch Unterthanen gehabt habe deren Gebräuche nur wenig von jenen sich unterscheiden und denen er seine Achtung dadurch bewiesen wollte dass er zugleich mit ihnen in Parthischer und in Indischer Tracht zeigte."

Especially noticed should be also Sir Alexander Cunningham's writings, e.g. his 'Coins of the Indian Buddhist Satraps with Greek inscriptions, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* vol. XXIII pp. 711-13. His remarks in the *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. II, pp. 52-61 vol. V, pp. 60-63, and vol. XIV, pp. 45-116. See further *Die Nachfolger Alexander des Grossen in Bactrien und Indien* von Alfred von Hault. the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. III p. 302 vol. IX pp. 258-263, vol. X p. 214 vol. XII p. 7 my book *Der Presbyter Johannes in Syrien und G.* welche zwei verbesserte Auflage pp. 41 and 223. *Die Kirche der Themas Christen* von Dr. W. Germann, pp. 16-27, 26-100.

The derivation of the word *Kodagu* is a disputed point among scholars. Dr. Gundert feels inclined to connect it with *lotu*, steep, the Rev. F. Kittel connects it with the root *lud*, and Bishop Caldwell gives as its meaning either *curved* or *west*. I believe that *Kodagu* or *Kudaku* is in reality a name, and that the signification *West* is derived from it. To the Tamil people *Kudagu* is a western, but to the Malayālis it is an eastern district. We find thus that the king of *Cēra* is called in Tamil the king of the West or *Kudakōn* (*Kudakō* and *Kudanatan*), while the king of *Konnu* or *Cēra* is in Malayālam the king of the East, and *Cērahārru* is a name of the East-wind. *Konnu* signifies according to Dr. Gundert *mountain-declivity*, and, though a general name of the *Cēra* (or *Kēraḷa*) country, it is particularly applied to the Coimbatore district. Moreover, *kudakku* for *west* is a special Tamil expression and not found in the other kindred tongues. Even Tamil generally uses in its stead the more common term *mēḷku*. I feel therefore inclined to explain the Tamil meaning of *kudakku* as *west* from the situation of the Kurg country which occupies a prominent position. Just in the same way the south-wind is called in Tamil *Cōlaham* after the southern *Cōla* country whence it blows²¹

²¹ Kurg is *Kodagu* in Kanarese, Tulu and Telugu, *Kudaku* and *Kudakam* in Tamil, and *Kudaku* or *Kodaku* in Malayalam. *Kutaran* and *Kanjaman* signify in Malayalam a predial slave, while *Kuṣṭiyan* means a slave in Kurg. The latter term may have been perhaps derived from the word *luti*, house. With respect to the interchange of *g* and *c* compare in Telugu *pōgu* and *pōru*, earring, *paḡadamu* and *paraḡamu*, coral, *aguṭa* and *aruṭa*, to be. Consult C. P. Brown's *Telugu Grammar*, and see p. 23.

Respecting the name *Kodagu* the Rev. F. Kittel makes the following remarks in a note to his article "Three Kongu Inscriptions" in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VI, pp. 99-103: "As evinced by the pronunciation of Kanarese, *Koḍaga*, and other peoples, the name of the country is *Koṅḡu* (not *Kōḡu* with the long Sanskrit *o*), an inhabitant of that country, now-a-days often identified with the Kovambuttar (Coimbatore) district, is called a *Koṅḡa*. Thus also *Kudagu* (Coorg) is the country, and *Kodaga*, a native of Coorg. *Koṅḡai*, *Koṅḡuṭi*, *Koṅḡai* are Sanskritized forms. Though *Koṅḡu* and *Koḍagu* more than probably have the same root (*ḷud*), there seems to be no historical proof for the identity of the names. Among the *Koḍagas* of our time there is a well-known family called the *Koṅḡa* house,—a secondary

It is not impossible that the ancestors of the present Kodagas, unless they are regarded as aborigines, immigrated at a later period into Kurg. In those early days the Billavas and the Kurumbas, the two representatives of the ancient Dravidian and Gaudian tribes, were already living on these mountains, as well as the Holeyas and Yeravas, who probably had not been degraded into bondslaves and outcastes⁵³

The principal divisions among the Kurgs are the priestly or Amma Kodagas and the Lay Kodagas⁵⁴. Both classes are of Gaudian origin, though the Kāvēri Purāna represents the Amma-Kodagas as Brahmans, who had been cursed by Agastya. Brahmanic tradition assigns to the ancient Tulu priests a similar fabulous history. These are said to have been fishermen, whom Paraśurāma had elevated into Brahmans by investing them with the holy thread torn from the cords of their nets, but whom he afterwards again degraded as unbelievers. The Amma Kodagas were probably

evidence as to the influence of the Kodagas over at least a portion of Coorg. It would be of some interest to know in what document Kodaga is first mentioned. Bishop Caldwell gives in the introduction to his *Compendious Grammar of the Dravidian Languages* two different explanations of the word Kodaga. On p. 22 he says 'The word *Aeng* one of the names of the Chera country means like *Kudagu* (Coorg) crooked, curved and is evidently a name derived from the configuration of the country' and on p. 36 he writes 'The native spelling of Coorg is usually *Kodagu* properly *Kudagu* from *kuda* wet, a meaning of the word which is usual in ancient Tamil. The original meaning of Kurg is often explained as a gnawing *wee-wee* but this explanation like the others proposed by the two previously mentioned scholars appears to me improbable.

⁵³ See *Coorg Memoirs or Account of Coorg* by the Rev H. Moorling, Bangalore 1855; the Rev G. Richter's *Manual of Coorg* (1870) and his *Ethnographical Compendium on the Castes and Tribes found in the Province of Coorg*, Bangalore 1897, as well as Mr. Lewis Rice's *Myths and Coorg* vol. III. Moorling gives on pp. 1-10 a description of the Kurg country.

⁵⁴ According to the *Manual of Coorg Civil Law* by Captain R. Cole p. 4, 'There are four different sects or tribes amongst the Coorgs viz. 1. Amma 2. Sanna 3. Me 4. Bodda Coorgs. Amongst these the Amma and Sanna Coorgs are to be found in all parts of Coorg proper whilst the Bodda Coorgs are chiefly found to the north of Mercara. The Me Coorgs are amalgamated with the Sanna Coorgs and are no longer distinguishable.'

so called after *Amma Kāvēri* or Mother Kāvēri, whom they worship, though they do not assist at any ceremonies at the Kāvēri temple. In fact for a considerable period the Amma-Koḍagas do not appear to have performed any priestly functions at all. They hardly surpass their lay countrymen in education, and they live entirely on agriculture. They possess no sacred books of their own, and their influence is very limited. Some years back they could scarcely be distinguished from the other Kurgas, and they have only lately discarded their national costume, in order to imitate the Brahmans in their dress and food. They wear now the sacred thread and abstain from animal food and liquor. According to tradition, the Ammas owned once half of the Kurg country free of rent, while the other half belonged to the Lay Kurgas. But circumstances have changed much of late, and the Amma-Koḍagas are not only greatly reduced in numbers, but are still continuing to decrease.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ Compare *Coorg Memoirs* of the Rev. H. Moehling, pp. 24-27. "When the Brahmans for whom Parashurāma's victory opened the Western Coast, settled in their new country, they found there an indigenous priesthood. They could not destroy them, they could not, or would not, amalgamate with them. What was to be done? The Parashurāma Shraṣṭhi Kāthe (history of the creation of Kerala by Parashurāma) has managed the difficulty. The native priesthood, the Tuluva Brahmans, are represented as Brahmans, created by Parashurāma, but afterwards cursed by him. They were originally fishermen. Parashurāma elevated them to Brahmanical rank by investing them with cords, torn from their nets. Afterwards, provoked by their unbelieving presumption, he degraded them for ever. Thus the ancient priests of the Tulu country were absorbed by the Brahmanical system as Brahmans, lying under a curse. In a similar manner the Ammas of Coorg appear in this Kāvēri Purāṇa, as Brahmans indeed originally, but degraded by the curse of the Rishi Agastya. The real history of the Ammas, or Amma Koḍagas has thus been effaced, and cannot be restored. However, a few facts may be mentioned as proofs, that the Ammas are the remains of the ancient priesthood, though they know it not themselves. 1. Their common name is Amma Koḍaga, which would naturally signify: Coorgs devoted to the worship of Amma, i. e., the goddess of the chief river of the country, the Kāvēri. 2. They observe the great festivals of the Coorg country in the same manner as the rest of the Coorgs, but of course, as priests, performing puja, etc. 3. They dress like the rest of the Coorgs, though wearing at the same time, the Brahmanical cord. However, on this subject my information is rather curious. It is said, that

The Lay-Kurgs were formerly a warlike race, but the long years of peace and security have to a certain extent softened their manners. Still they are strong and brave, and though now not called upon to face hostile armies, they courageously encounter the wild and fierce beasts which infest their woods and mountains.

Their acknowledged bravery and the loyalty they displayed towards Government secured to the Kurgs the distinction of being exempted from the provisions of the Disarming Act after the suppression of the Great Mutiny.

It has been asserted that polyandry exists, or has existed, among the Kodagas, and though this practice has probably become extinct in more recent times, there is no reason for supposing that it did not once exist. Polyandry is a custom peculiar to the Gauda-Dravidian tribes, and is still found among certain races. The households of the Kodagas, in which two or three, perhaps even four, generations live together, have been likened to those of the five Pandavas.

having degenerated by degrees, and being at last carried away by the Turks, they ceased to put on the holy cord, and began to wear the common Coorg dress. But it appears to me, that the truth differs much from the current statement. I suppose, that they wore the Coorg-dress originally, knew nothing of Brahmanical pretensions and badges, and differed in nothing from their brethren, except their selection for the priestly office. In more recent times they seem to have inclined towards the proffered patronage of the Brahmans, and to have gradually dropped into Brahmanical habits of thought and life. A good many now wear the holy cord, having laid aside the dress of their country, and all profess to abstain from meat and fermented liquors. This return to Brahmanical initiation and dress was brought about by a Haviga Brahman, the late Karnika, Timappaya. His family still exercise spiritual rule over the Amma Kodagas, who appear to delight in the shade of Brahmanical patronage. 4 They have no bhastra. The whole Coorg race was unlettered from the beginning. Their own priesthood also, like the priests of ancient Germany and Britain, had no need of books." Mr Lewis Rice's statements, *loc citato*, pp 227, 228, coincide with those of Mr Moegling. The Rev. G Richter gives in his *Ethnographical Compendium* the following description of the Amma Kodagas on p 21. "The Amma Coorgs form but a small and exclusive sect. They are said to have been the indigenous priesthood, but there is no distinct priesthood attached to demon worship. The Coorgs being demon worshippers can have had no priesthood in the Brahmanical sense and the Amma Coorgs may rather be considered as having been, like the *Agala Palyas*, the officiating *Pujaris* at

The Kodagas are very superstitious, worshipping demons and evil spirits

On the whole the Kodaga is a very worthy representative of the Gauda-Dravidian race, and has no need to raise himself in the esteem of others by claiming to be an Aryan Kṣatriya⁶¹

the bloody sacrifices offered to their *Bhutās*, an office which generally the head of the family performs Yet their name *Amma Kodagas*, denotes that they were devotees to 'Mother Kaveri,' a river deity which is identical with *Parvati*, the wife of *Śiva* It may be conjectured that the Brahmins coming in contact with the rude Coorg mountaineers and seeing in the dominant race a promising field to further their own interests imposed upon them their own puranic superstition and peopled the high mountains with celebrated *rishis* or hermits chief among them *Agastia Muni* and brought the source of the *Kaveri* in relationship with the principal Brahmanical deities *Śiva* and *Parvati* and to give divine authority to their proceedings they foisted upon the Coorgs the *Kaveri Purāṇa* a feat which may have overawed a rude and superstitious race but which by modern criticism is discovered as a fraudulent imposition of recent date To conciliate and win over the indigenous *Bhīṣa piyaris* they were admitted as a sort of inferior priests of *Kaveri Amma*, hence their name *Amma Kodagas* In the course of time disputes must have arisen between them and the more crafty and learned Brahmanical priests whose interests necessitated a monopoly and as legend has it, the former fell under *Kaveri's* curse and decreased, whilst the Coorgs who aided with *Agastia Muni*, were promised increased prosperity But however obscure the history of the *Amma Coorgs* may be the fact is that from time immemorial they perform no priestly functions whatever, and being unlettered and ignorant they exercise no spiritual influence upon the rest of the Coorgs from whom they are only distinguished by wearing the Brahmanical cord and by abstaining from animal food and fermented liquor They do therefore not eat with Coorgs nor intermarry with them but the Brahmins do in no wise acknowledge them as of equal standing or even resembling them in priestly dignity Their number does not exceed 400, and the next census will likely confirm the opinion of their steady decrease They live on agriculture only It is said that a class of people like the *Amma Kodagas* live in the Wynnad, with whom they claim relationship but have now no intercourse The legend of Paraśurama elevating fishermen on the Tuluva shore to Brahmins by destroying the nets and forming Brahmanical strings out of their meshes is also contained in a Kanarese *Bhāgāla* Paraśurama became incensed against them in consequence of their attempting to try the truth of his word

⁶¹ See *Coorg Annals*, pp 27, ff "There can be no doubt that the Coorgs have an origin distinct from the population both of the Western coast (Canara and Malayālam), and of the Mysore tableland Their very appearance proves this They are a tall muscular broad chested, well favored race Many of them do not exceed the neighbouring tribes in height of

The Koragas

A greater dissimilarity can hardly exist between two tribes than is found between the Kodagas of Kurg and the Koragas of Kanara, though both belong to the same Gaudian race. The free and independent bearing of the Kodaga stands in glaring contrast to the shy and retiring demeanour

body. Their complexion is rather fair, their features generally regular. The national character of the Coorgs is perhaps tolerably well understood by the people of the plains, who look upon them as a fierce, irascible and revengeful race, not easily to be managed. They have a strange and noxious custom, a kind of marriage communism within the family. The wives of the brothers of one house are considered as common property. The children consequently are rather children of the family, or of the mother, than of the acknowledged father. Among the Coorgs the family property descends accordingly not so much from father to son as from generation to generation, the eldest member acting as head of the house. In former days there was another way, my informant told me for contracting marriage, besides family agreement. Two young people of the same (district) Na'la, would see each other and without asking counsel of parents or friends agree upon a union for life. Such a covenant would be held sacred. Unfaithfulness in the case of such partners was a thing unheard of. Read also Mr Lewis Rice's *Gazetteer of Coorg* pp 93, & 203, 218 '51. Compare Mr Richter's *Ethnographical Compendium* p 2. "There can be no doubt that however varied the population of Coorg may be, the dominant tribe the Coorgs as well as the other Hindu castes and tribes of the country belong to the Dravidian race. As to their physiognomy and bodily characteristics essentially there seems to be no difference other than what may be accounted for by civilization and social institutions. The shape of their heads is clearly *mesocephalic* and *orthognathic* with less or more prominent cheek bones and oval or pointed faces." P 3. "As to traditional habits and customs amongst the people of Coorg there is a great similitude to the usages among the other Dravidian races, modified of course by the difference of climate and civilizing influences." P 19.

The Coorgs or Kodagas as they are properly called are the principal inhabitants of the country and from time immemorial the lords of the soil. For the last two centuries they are known as a compact body of mountaineers who resemble more a Scotch clan than a Hindu caste. However, the peculiar character attached to them is doubtless the result of physical and political circumstances in which they were placed. They are a tribe more from position than genealogy and cannot be said to be of distinct origin. In the Hindu scale they are considered as Sudras. By the force of local circumstances they became like other pre-Aryan hill tribes hunters and warriors and were brought into historical prominence through the chivalrous exploits of their Raja Dodda Varajender in his struggle with Tippu Sultan for independence and his alliance with the English, and again through the insane hostility of the last Raja and the short invasion and annexation of the country by the English in 1834. Now the Coorgs are peaceful agriculturists and chiefly fill the offices of the local administration and

of the Koraga when he encounters a stranger in his jungles. The Kodaga has a comparatively fair complexion, while the skin of the Koraga is black, the former delights to cover himself with handsome clothes, the latter prefers rags or a state bordering on nudity, while the Koraga woman is even contented with a partial covering of interwoven leaves. In spite of his poverty and wretchedness, the Koraga is a contented man and lives happy and contented so long as nobody interferes with him, and of course so long as he can satisfy his hunger and thirst. He likes meat and is fond of spirits. The dead are buried according to Mr N Raghavendra Row, but burnt according to Dr Francis Buchanan. Mr N Raghavendra Row asserts that the

owe their notable position to the special favor of the British Government. Their presumption to be of *Kshatriya* or *Rajput* descent may flatter their natural pride but has not the slightest foundation in history or tradition or in the evidence derived from their language or social and religious institutions and customs. Lieutenant Connor whose professional duties brought him into daily intercourse with them for a period of two years 1816 1817 enjoyed the most favorable opportunities to form an unbiassed opinion of the Coorgs before any European influence had affected their habits and social position. He rejects the supposition of their being a division of the *Naras* as having no pretension to rank with the higher classes of the *Soodra* tribe." P 38. The Coorgs are generally charged with the practice of polyandry, and Lieutenant Connor writes of the custom as an undoubted fact the reason for which he fails to see. He states. The Kodogus generally marry after the age of puberty the nuptials of the eldest brother are first celebrated and the lady in all cases yields a consent to become the wife of the younger ones who when circumstances will permit are married successively their spouses being in turn not less accommodating. Upon a careful and confidential examination of the matter I have come to the conclusion that whatever may have been the custom of bygone ages or whatever form it may have assumed—Thornton in his history of the British Empire alluding to the marriage laws of the Coorgs called it communism of wives—there is no such thing now practised amongst the Coorgs as a general usage." P 42.

Regarding the religion of the Coorgs the general statement already given needs some special remarks. Considering their intimate connection with local and neighbouring castes and tribes it is but natural that their religious practices which originally stood on the same level with those of the *Holeyas*, viz demon and ancestor worship have been much influenced by Malayalam Tulu Kanarese Brahmanical and Langayet superstitions. Malayalis have made themselves indispensable at demon and ancestor worship. Tuls have smuggled in their demons and are in requisition as *p jars*, Mysoreans at certain times of the year carry *Mari Anna* shrines through the country to

Koraga does not like to volunteer any information about his language. "He may be induced to give an account of his feasts, his god, and his family, but a word about his dialect will frighten him out of his wits. At that moment alone, he will become impolite and unmannerly. He thinks his dialect is a shield in his hand and cannot be parted with, and therefore keeps it as a sacred secret. But good words and kind treatment can do something. A few words that have been gathered with great difficulty resemble those of the Konkani and Naikundo Gondi tribes of Nagpore." The unwillingness of the Soppina Koragas to give information concerning their language is also mentioned in the *Memoirs of the Origin of Slaves* ⁶²

have the people's vows paid to them, the Brahmans who are domiciled in Coorg have succeeded in introducing *Mahadesa* and *Subrahmanya*, in entirely brahmanizing the worship of the river Kaveri, in having temples erected and idols set up, in spreading puranic tales, and in usurping to some extent the *puya* at the places of the worship. They have been greatly assisted in these successful endeavours by the *Lingajets* and *Snacharis*, especially in the introduction of the *Linga*. Christianity first presented to them by the Roman Catholic settlement in Virajendrapet since the days of Dodda Virajendra and for the last 30 years offered to them by the agents of the Basel Mission... has made little progress." Read also Rev F Kittel's articles entitled *Coorg Superstitions*, *The Coorgs* and *Three Kongo Inscriptions* in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol II, pp 168-171, 182, and vol VI, pp 99-103. The second article treats about the custom of polyandry. Compare Rev M A Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, Vol II pp 286-290.

According to the last census the number of Amma Kodagas amounted to 475 and that of the other Kodags to 26,535 souls.

"See Mr Ullal Raghavendra Rao's account on the Koragas of Canara. I have not been able to obtain a copy of the original lecture. It has been reprinted two years ago in the May number 1886 of the *Madras Christian College Magazine*, it is also *extenso* quoted in the *Madras Census Report* of 1871, vol I pp 343-345 in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol III pp 195-199, and in Mr Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, vol III, pp 206-210. "With a black face, forehead of moderate size, and strong body all bespeaking contentment the *Koragar* is separated from the rest of mankind,—alien in dress in manners customs and dialect. Uneducated and illiterate as he is, in his circle virtue thrives as in her proper soil. He has a god and him he knows to love—him he knows to pray to, however incoherent his language be. Lying, stealing, adultery, and other social evils he knows not. He has never appeared in a court of justice as defendant in a suit. He does drink toddy, it is true. He does eat flesh. On what else should he live, while we have denied him every means of subsistence? The *Koragar*, born

Little is known about their former history. The Koragas are now treated like Pariahs, though according to tradition they also were once a governing race. Dr. Francis Buchanan states that "*Hudushica*, chief of the savages

as a slave, is richly content with his ignorance, with his *keppu*, and with his squalid poverty. Ambition finds in him no place. He eats but the rotten flesh of the dead cattle. He clothes himself but with rags. The dress of the Koragar does not greatly differ from that which the lower classes, such as the *Billawais*, make use of during their daily labour, the only point of difference is, that the poverty of the Koragar does not allow him to replace the narrow piece of threadbare cloth, little better than a rag, by a more recent suit of clothes on festive occasions, while the other classes invariably reserve some sort of finery for gala days. The dress of the females, however, is very peculiar. While the males gird a piece of cloth around their loins, the females cover their waist with the leaves of the forest interwoven together. The custom of their nudity is attributed to different reasons, and a tradition, which has been handed down to posterity among the upper classes, who boast of the glory of the past, is hardly worthy of belief. One of these 'blacklegged' (the usual expression by which they are referred to during the night) demanded a girl of high birth in marriage. Being enraged at this, the upper class withheld, after the overthrow of the Koraga empire, every kind of dress from the Koraga women, who, to protect themselves from disgrace, have since had recourse to the leaves of the forest. Within his own circle, he has three divisions: 1. *The Ande Koragars*—These are described as having a pot suspended from their neck. This class, which is the lowest, has been rarely seen since the establishment of British rule in Canara. They were considered so unholy, that they were not allowed to thus on the public way, and, consequently, the pot was worn for this purpose. 2. *The Vastra Koragars*—This appellation has reference to their wearing clothes such as were used to shroud a dead body and were given to them in the shape of charity, the use of a new cloth being prohibited. 3. *The Sappu Koragars*—These Koragars are such as we now generally see, wearing leaves for clothes. These three divisions are named simply after their different kinds of dress." (This extract is from N. Sherring's vol. III, and the following partly also from the *Indian Antiquary*.)

"When a Koragar dies, as a matter of simple duty, reference is made to his landlord, and with his permission the deceased is buried in a place consecrated for the purpose, and in his honour four balls of rice are made and placed on the grave, which must be done within twelve months from the date of his death. Koragars were, it is said, originally worshippers of the sun. They have no separate temple for their god, but a place beneath a *Kazarkunn* tree is consecrated for the worship of their deity, which is exclusively their own, and is called *Kota*. The Koragars have no fixed feasts exclusively their own. Now, while liberty shines throughout the world under this Christian Government, slavery still lurks in those darkest corners where the rays of education have yet to penetrate. The *Koragars* and *Holeyas* are victims to this vestige of past despotism. The ceremony

“called *Coragoru*, or *Corar*, governed 12 years, till Kali-
 “yugam 2657 *Locaditya Raya*, son of Myuru Varma,
 “expelled the *Coragoru*, and governed Tulava, Malayala,
 “and Haiga 21 years, till Kahyugam 2678 ”⁶³

of buying a slave needs a little explanation. The destined slave is washed, and anointed with oil and new clothes are given him. The master takes a *bathu*, or plate, pours some water in it, and drops in it a piece of gold. The slave drinks up the water, and taking some earth from his future master's estate, throws it on the spot which he has chosen for his use, which is thereupon given to him with the trees thereon. The greater number of slaves belong to the *Aliya Santanam* castes, and among these people a male slave is sold for three *Bhaudry* pagodas, and a female slave for five pagodas, whereas the few slaves who follow the *Makkala Santanam* custom, fetch five pagodas for the man, and only three for the woman. This is because the children of the latter go to the husband's master, while those of the *Aliya Santanam* slaves go to the mother's master, who also has the benefit of the husband's services.”

In the *Memoirs of the Origin of Slaves* of Ramappa Karnik of Barkur, which I quoted on p. 156 in note 50, p. 159, note 53, and on p. 170 concerning the language of the *Soppu Koragar*, contain also other interesting remarks on the *Koragas* on pp. 23, 24, 32, 33, 34, 35. In 11 “*Mirara*, *Kappata Koragars*, *Soppu Koragars* and those, who are aborigines of Ghauts feed upon carrion or carcases of oxen, cows, calves, buffaloes and other cattle. Females of *Soppu Koragars* alone wear leaves of trees. *Kappata Koragars* and *Soppu Koragars* do wicker-work, sell hides to shoe-makers and secure remnants of food of all higher classes except the subdivided *Chandalas*. *Soppu Koragars* also beat drum during buffalo race and other occasions. Among the *Soppu Koragars*, male guests of their caste bring degradation upon them if they enter after sun-set a hut occupied by a single woman. The females of this class, failing to wear leaves, bring disrepute to the whole class.”

⁶³ Compare *A Journey from Madras through the Countries of Mysore, Canara, and Malabar*, by Francis Buchanan, M.D., second edition, Madras, vol. II, p. 269, and pp. 271, 272. “Having assembled some of the *Corar*, or *Corawar*, who under their chief *Hubashica* are said to have once been masters of *Tulava*, I found, that they are now all slaves, and have lost every tradition of their former power. Their language differs considerably from that of any other tribe in the peninsula. When their masters choose to employ them, they get one meal of victuals, and the men have daily one *Hany* of rice, and the women three-quarters of a *Hany*. This is a very good allowance, but, when the master has no use for their labour, they must support themselves as well as they can. Thus they endeavour to do by making *Cour*, or rope from coco-nut husks, various kinds of baskets from *Ratans* and climbing plants, and mud walls. They pick up the scraps and offals of other people's meals, and skin dead oxen, and dress the hides. They build their huts near towns or villages. Their dress is very simple, and consists in general of a girdle, in which they stick a bunch of grass before, and another

The same incident is mentioned in the following manner in the MS of the yet unprinted "Geography and History of Canara" compiled by the late Mr. William Lavis, an official of South Kanara, during the years 1830 to 1841: "About 900 years or more before Christ (but we must not be too particular about dates) Hoobashee brought an army from Anantapur consisting of the Berar, Mundale, Karamāra, Mailla, Holeya, Ande Koraga; with these troops, whom Buchanan calls savages, Hoobashee marched against Angara Varma, the son of Veera Varma. They first came to Barkur and from thence proceeded to Mangalore, where they were seized with the small-pox, and greatly troubled by the ants. Subsequently they went to the southward of Manjeshwar. Here Hoobashee established his capital, and put his nephew Siddha Bhyru on the throne in lieu of Veera Varma. He reigned only twelve years, and then both he and Hoobashee died, owing to the enchantments used by Veera Varma who went to Banwasee in Sonda for that very purpose. After their deaths, Veera Varma returned and drove the aforesaid army into the

behind. Some of the men have a fragment of cloth round their waist, but very few of the women ever procure this covering. They are not, however, without many ornaments of beads, and the like, and even when possessed of some wealth do not alter their rude dress. Some few of them are permitted to rent lands as *Gajngaras*. In spite of this wretched life, they are a good looking people, and therefore probably are abundantly fed. They have no hereditary chiefs, and disputes among them are settled by assemblies of the people. If they can get them, they take several wives, and the women are marriageable both before and after puberty, and during widowhood. They will not marry a woman of any other caste, and they are considered of so base an origin, that a man of any other caste, who cohabits with one of their women, is inevitably excommunicated and afterwards not even a *Corar* will admit his society. The marriages are indissoluble, and a woman who commits adultery is only flogged. Her paramour, if he be a *Corar*, is fined. The master pays the expense of the marriage feast. When a man dies, his wives, with all their children, return to the huts of their respective mothers and brothers, and belong to their masters. They will eat the offals of any other caste, and can eat beef, carrion, tigers, crows, and other impure things, they reject, however, dogs and snakes. They can lawfully drink intoxicating liquors. They burn the dead, and seem to know nothing of

“jungles where they were driven to such extremities that
 “they consented to become slaves and serve under the former
 “landlords The way in which this was done was as followe:
 “After washing and anointing the body with oil, new cloths
 “were put on the destined slave, and his future owner having
 “taken a *Batlu* or plate, poured some water on it and dropt
 “in a piece of gold After which the slave drauk up the
 “water The slave then took up some earth from his future
 “master’s estate and threw it on such a spot as he chose for
 “his house and garden which was accordingly given over to
 “him with all the trees thereon. The Karamāra were set
 “to watch the crops and cattle belonging to the village.
 “The head-men who had been appointed by Hoobashoe to
 “the most responsible posts under his nephew’s government
 “were taken naked towards the sea in order to be hung
 “there, but being ashamed of their naked state they gathered
 “the leaves of the Necky gida (ನಿತ್ಯ, ನಿತ್ಯ), five-leaved trees, and
 “made a smell covering for themselves in front. Thereupon
 “their conductors took pity on them and let them go, since
 “which they have continued to wear no other covering than
 “the leaves of the said tree ” 64

a state of future existence, nor do they believe in *Passachs*, or evil spirits. Their deity is called *Buta*, and is represented by a stone, which is kept in a square surrounded by a wall To this stone, in all cases of sickness, they sacrifice fowls or make offerings of fruit or grain, and every man offers his own worship (*Pija*) so that they have no officiating priest, and they acknowledge the authority of no *Gurus* They follow all the oxen and buffaloes of the village, as so much of the live stock, when they are driven in procession at a great festival which the farmers annually celebrate ”

“ I copied this extract from a MS. copy of Mr Lavis’s *Geography and History of Canara* kindly lent to me by Mr J Sturrock, Collector of South Canara, and it occurs there on pp 21, 22 Mr Lavis says about it “ 29 The following traditiounary account of the *Dhars* I quote in full from a Canarese paper obligingly furnished to me by a respectable native ” This extract is also contained in a note to the *Memoirs of the Origin of Slaves* by Ramappa Karnic of Barkur, a friend of Dr. Buchanan These memoirs were translated by Mr Joseph Saldanha, Sheristadar of Mangalore, and published by Dr John Shortt in the IV Part of *The Hill Ranges of Southern India* The MS copy of these Memoirs and the print of Dr Shortt (on p 10) acknowledge Lavis’s *Geography and History of Canara* as their original

In the English translation of Ramappa's *Memoirs of the Slaves*, Hoobasheo is always called Hubashika, and the Karamaras are called Marimans or Kappatu Koragas.

We read also in this memoir that Hubashika, king of the Candālas, subdued king Lōkadīrīya, that the king Candrasēna, in order to get rid of Hubashika, proposed to him that he should marry Candrasēna's sister, and when Hubashika with his chief followers came, the guests were treacherously assailed and either massacred or enslaved.⁶³

source The following account is reprinted from *The Koragars* by Mr Ullal Raghavendra Rao from the *Indian Antiquary*, vol III, p 196 "The following tradition gives us a very faint idea of their rule —

"About 900 years or more B C (but we must not be too particular about dates), the Habashi brought an army from Anantapur, consisting of the Dirar, Mundal, Karmara, Maia, Holey, Ande Koraga, with these troops, whom the learned Dr Buchanan calls savages, the Habashi marched against Angara Varma, the son of Vira Varma. They first came to Barkur, and from thence proceeded to Mangalur, where they were attacked by small pox, and greatly troubled by ants. They went to the southward of Manjetar. There the Habashi established his capital, and put his nephew Sidda Balru on the throne in lieu of Vira Varma. He reigned only twelve years, and then both he and the Habashi died, owing to the enchantments used by Vira Varma, who went to Nanawasi in Sonda for that very purpose. After their death Vira Varma returned, and drove the aforesaid army into the jungles, where they were pursued to such extremities that they consented to become slaves and serve under the former landlords. The Karmara was sent to watch the crops and cattle belonging to the village. The headmen who had been appointed by the Habashi to the most responsible posts under his nephew's government were taken naked to the seashore in order to be hanged, but, being ashamed of their naked state, they gathered the leaves of the *Akki gida* and made a small covering for themselves. Thereupon their conductors took pity on them, and let them go, since which they have, it is said, continued to wear no other covering than the leaves of the said tree."

The *Koragars* have been republished in the *Madras Christian College Magazine*, vol III, pp 824, 833. The contents of the nine lines (beginning with "The way in which" and ending with "all the trees thereon," concerning the ceremony of buying a slave) are omitted in this extract, and are found in another extract reprinted at the top of p 172 in note 62.

The passage on p 197 beginning with "Although these slaves are in a degraded position" and ending with "They are also mortgaged for three or four pagodas," forms verbatim part of § 30 on p 23 of Mr Lavis's MS. It is found in the *Madras Christian College Magazine* on pages 825, 829. Mr Lavis resigned the service in 1813 and died in England in 1861.

"The *Lokadīrīya* Rāya of Buchanan is called *Lokadīrīya* by Ramappa Karnic of Barkur, in whose *Memoirs of the Origins of Slaves* in Dr Shortt's *Hill Tracts*, Part IV, pp 18 and 19, we read: "Formerly, a hero by name Hubashika

What makes this tradition so interesting is that it connects Hubasika with the Kadambas, for Candrasēna, the ruler of the Tuluva country, was a kinsman of Trinētra Kadamba. Trinētra is a favorite name in this dynasty. Candrasena had a son Lokaditya, who married a daughter of Trinētra Kadamba. The daughter of this Lokaditya and of the Kadamba princess Kanakavati was asked in marriage by Hubasika, the king of the Chandalas. Lokaditya pretended to favour the suit, and invited the intended bridegroom to his capital Tripura to celebrate the marriage. Shortly after his arrival Hubasika and his retinue were treacherously assailed and massacred by the soldiers of Lōkaditya and Trinētra.

These accounts differ very considerably. According to some Hubasika died owing to the enchantments of Viru Varma, according to others he was killed by Lokaditya, to

became famous amongst the Chandalas subdued the king Lokaditya and was ruling with his caste men. King Chendashena with the view of getting rid of Hubasika proposed a marriage between Hubasika and Chendasena's sister and invited the bridegroom and his caste men to the nuptials. The invitation being complied with a wholesale massacre of the guests ensued, many fell victims to the plot, a few escaped, others were imprisoned and made over to Brahmans to be employed in tilling their lands. As the captives belonged to the camp of the enemy, it was declared that the Chandalas should be punished by their respective masters for faults committed by them, that they should for ever remain under subordination to others, that they should possess no authority whatever, and that they should be allowed only the daily ration of food rather than permit them to have at their disposal the previous day's means for providing themselves with the necessaries of the next day. Thus doomed to bondage for ever the Chandalas were transferred along with the lands to the subsequent Nadavar and Brahman purchasers. Those who had escaped during the aforesaid crisis had returned home pursued their avocations and lived an independent life. The Soppu Koragars also appear to have been in some localities attached to land and in others to have enjoyed liberty.

With respect to the Kadambas the main printed information so far as the subject concerns us here is contained in H. H. Wilson's *Machen is Collection* Introduction, pp. lix-lciii. See 97 (new edition pp. 36-60, 62-149, 150).

I have consulted the MSS. in the Government Oriental MSS. Library on which are mostly founded the conclusions of Wilson. Read also Mr. L. Rice's *Mysore and Coorg* vol. I, pp. 194, 195.

whom Buchanan ascribed the expulsion of the Koragas after the death of Hubasika. The relationship of the Kadamba princes is also given differently; still these contradictions need not invalidate the main part of the tradition concerning Hubasika.

If we could recognise in this prince a real historical personage, an important step would have been gained towards fixing the period of these events. The life of the first Trinētra Kadamha is placed by some at the beginning of the second century A D, and this is the very period which the coins supply concerning the reign of *Huviska* or *Hooerkes*, king of the Korano, who would have been thus a contemporary of Hubasika, king of the Koragas.

The mighty Scythian king *Kadphises* II was succeeded in North-Western India by king *Kaniska* or *Kauerkes*, who initiated in A D 78 the Śaka Era, as has been first suggested by the late Mr. James Fergusson. *Kaniska* or *Kanerkes* was followed in his reign about 110 A.D by *Huviska* or *Hooerkes*. The latter forms prevail on the coins, while the records contain the former. The Korano or Kusan are identical with the *Fueh-chi*, the Chinese name of this tribe, commonly known to us as Indo-Scythians.

The Gauda-Dravidian race, as I have repeatedly pointed out, was not confined to India, some of its branches having remained on the northern frontier of the Indian continent. The invasion by the Korano can thus be appropriately explained as an inroad into India made by a kindred tribe, and leads to the suggestion that *Hubasika*, king of the Koragas, may be identified with *Huviska*, king of the Korano or Kusan. As *Huviska*'s reign falls in the first half of the second century A D., the period of *Hubasika*'s reported invasion will be fixed if *Hubasika* and *Huviska* are one and the same person.

Moreover, there are different Kings of the name *Trinētra* among the Kadambas. The first *Trinētra* lived according

to native tradition early in the Kaliyuga, while H. H. Wilson places his reign in the second half of the second century A.D. *Mayūra Varma*, the *Myuru Varma* of Buchanan, either the third or the sixth king of this dynasty, had a son Trinētra Kadamba, also known as Ksētra Varma and Candragada. He was the brother-in-law of Lōkaditya, the son of Candrasēna. Great confusion prevails in this matter.

The resemblance between the two names *Hubasika* and *Huviska* is so great, that one might suspect them to be identical. If this is the case, we must consider whether there existed only one or two or more kings of this same name. If only one king of this name ruled, his exploits must have been transferred to a subsequent period, in order to confer on the then reigning dynasty (in this circumstance on the race of the Kadambas⁶⁶) the glory of having slain such a distinguished sovereign. If we can trace more than one ruler of the name of Huviska (*Hubasika*), the difficulty as to the date is removed. Yet, I feel inclined to assume that only one king of this name did exist, and that *Hubasika's* or *Huviska's* invasion is separated from Lōkaditya's reign by a long intervening period. The identity of the original *Hubasika* with *Huviska* will be of considerable historical interest, as it proves the great impression which the invasions of the Indo-Scythians made on the mind of the Indian people. The similarity between *Korano* and *Koraga*, the names of the tribes over whom *Huviska* and *Hubasika* respectively ruled, must also not be overlooked.

Mayūra Varma is credited with having introduced Brahmana to Kanara. His capital was Banavāsi, already mentioned by Ptolemy (VII, 1, 83) as *Bavaovasi*.

The change of an *r* into a sibilant does not offer any philological difficulty, especially in Sanskrit, so that the forms *Kanishka* and *Huviska* require no particular explanation, if the original national pronunciation preferred an *r* and

was Kanerkes and Hooerkes. Certain euphonic rules even necessitate the above-mentioned change in Sanskrit. The Gauda-Dravidian languages are not very strict in the use of the liquids *r* and *l*, and the letter *l* is at times pronounced like an *r* or an *l*, and even, though faulty, like an *s*.⁶⁷

The Koragas, whom Buchanan calls *Corawar*, though treated like out-castes, yet acknowledge caste-distinctions among themselves. They are known as *Ande Koragas*, *Vastra Koragas* and *Soppu Koragas*. They are divided besides into five tribes. The names of two of these are lost. The others are called *Bangaranna*, *Kumaranna*, and *Mungaranna*.

I explain the word *Koraga* in the same manner as *Kodaga*, both names being derivatives of *ko*, mountain. Dr Francis Buchanan calls the *Koragas*, as above men-

⁶⁷ About these rulers and especially about *Huvishka* or *Hooerkes* compare besides other writings the *Catalogue of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum* by Percy Gardner LL.D. edited by Reginald S. Poole LL.D., Introduction pp. xlix li. 'The evidence derived from the style and epigraphy of coins seems to show that Kadphises I and Kadphises ruled but a part of North-West India. When Kadphises came in as an invader from the north, he found Hermaeus ruling in the Kabul Valley, and reduced him to a state of dependence. The Yueh chi did not rapidly extend their dominion in India. Only on the accession of the second Kadphises did the power of the invaders become altogether predominant. Kadphises II. Oozmo Kadphises was a wealthy monarch, and the founder of a powerful line of Scythic kings, as to whom inscriptions give us some information. His date is about the middle of the first century A.D. His successors are the kings called on their coins Kanerkes and Hooerkes, and in the records Kanishka and Huvishka. Their rule comprised the whole of North West India and the Kabul Valley.' See further pp. 129, 168, 170. H. H. Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*, pp. 59, 347-377, *The Archaeological Survey of India* by Sir Alexander Cunningham vol. II p. 238, vol. II, pp. 10, 43, 44, 63, 70, 88, 159, 162, 168, vol. III, pp. 30, 32 vol. V, p. 67, vol. XIV, p. 63 vol. XVI Pref., P. IV, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VI, pp. 217-19 vol. X, pp. 213-216, vol. XVII contains the article on 'Zoroastrian Deities on Indo-Scythian Coins' by M. Aurel Stein, Ph.D., to which I wish to draw attention though I cannot as yet see my way to agree with him in his at all events, ingenious conjecture of identifying the Greek P which he himself pronounces repeatedly *r* with the sibilant *s*.

The *Banacasa* (*Baravasa* and *Banavasa*) of Ptolemy has been differently explained. Some take it for *Kandapur*, others for *Konkapapura* *Kakanur* and *Inegundi*. See Mr. T. W. McCrindle's *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy* p. 170.

tioned, also *Corawar*. The *Koravas* or *Koramas*, mountaineers, are indeed a tribe widely spread in Southern India. They are identical with the *Kuravas*, of whom I shall speak later on. To the mountain climbing *Malaca*, whom I noticed on p. 21, correspond the terms *Koraca*, *Korca* and *Korsa* unless they are taken as modifications of *Korava*. We find these people especially in the Kanarese districts. They are well known as basket-makers.⁶⁸

The Todas.

The *Todas* or *Tudas*, as these pastoral rulers of the Blue Mountains, or *Nilagiri* of South India, are generally called, have to a certain extent baffled all inquiries concerning their origin. But there is no doubt that they belong to the Gaudian branch of the Gauda-Dravidian group. The supposition that the *Todas* are connected with the African *Ethiopian* has, I think, no foundation whatever.⁶⁹

The question whether they are aborigines of, or immigrants into, the country they at present inhabit, has been much discussed. The probability is that, according to their traditions, they left their original abodes and settled on the *Nilagiri* mountain range; but the time when this migration actually took place is shrouded in mystery. Yet, even if they ascended from the plains to the *Nilagiri* hills, this circumstance does not militate against the fact that originally in their old homes they were mountaineers. At all events very many centuries must have elapsed since their settlement on the *Nilagiri*. They possess, so far as we can ascertain, no trustworthy traditions, no inscriptions, nor any literature concerning their ancient history.

⁶⁸ See p. 97.

⁶⁹ See Lieutenant-Colonel W. E. Marshall's *A Phrenologist amongst the Todas*, p. 4. "There is much of the 'blameless Ethiopian' about them something of the Jew and of the Chaldean in their appearance." "On the eve of sending this work to the press, I would beg again to urge my belief in the connection between the Dravidian *Toda* and the *Ethiop*."

The Todas are divided into five clans, namely: Paiki, Pekkan, Kuttan, Konna and Todu. We meet the term *Paiki* again among the *Hale-paikis* of Naga, and the *Kumāra-paikas* of North Kanara, who make toddy-drawing their chief occupation. The *Hale-paikis* of Manjarabad are called *Dēvara mahkaḷu* or children of God, and the *Paikis* who take the lead among the *Todas*, for from them the *Palal* or high-priest is chosen, call themselves also *Der mohh*, or children of God.⁷⁰

The derivation of *Paik* is obscure; can it be connected with the Telugu postposition *pai*, above?

⁷⁰ In *The Tribes inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills*, Mangalore, 1864, the Rev. F. Metz says on p. 14: "At what period the Todas first came to and settled upon the Neilgherries, we have no means of ascertaining, for they have no literature, nor any inscriptions, and such of their traditions as I have hitherto heard them mention afford no clue whatever by which this mystery can be unravelled. From their legends, and some particular words contained in their language, I am led to think that, prior to migrating to these Hills, they must, perhaps for centuries, have inhabited a range lying to the North-East, in the direction of Hassanoor, beyond the Gazelhutti pass. Part of the tribe appears to have settled in a northern direction near Collegal; for I am frequently pressed to go and visit them and bring back intelligence respecting their condition in life, prosperity with the Todas, as in patriarchal times, consisting in the number and extent of their herds." See also *An Account of the Tribes on the Neilgherries*, by J. Shortt, M. V., Madras, 1868, pp. 4-42. On p. 4 he writes: "Todawars, or Toriwars, who are reputed to be the aborigines, and, it is said, were once clad in leaves and roamed as free and unrestrained lords of the soil, leading a pastoral nomadic life. Todawars, or Toriwars—the literal name given to herdsmen in the Tamil language—are the principal tribe, and are believed to be the original inhabitants, as well as the territorial sovereigns of these Hill tracts. Not only do the Todas themselves claim this priority of existence and possession, but the right is conceded to them by the other Hill tribes, who, in recognition of it, always paid a tribute to their Todalords, consisting of one-sixth of the produce in kind. But, under the British Government, this practice is being gradually discontinued. . . The Toda or Thoddu tribe consists of five distinct intersections or sub-divisions, namely: (1) Perky; (2) Pekkan; (3) Kuttan; (4) Konna; and (5) Todu. (On p. 7.) The Todawars are entirely a pastoral race, and lead a peaceful tranquil life, chiefly employed in tending their cattle. They carry no weapon of offence or defence for protection against enemies of their own kind or wild beasts, except a cowherd's wand or staff, which is made of jungle wood generally, about 4½ feet long with a large knob or head." Compare further *ibidem* a *Geographical and Statistical Memoir of a Survey on the Neilgherry Mountains*, by Captain J. Ouchterlony, 1847, pp. 51-52. "This remarkable race differs in almost every essential respect from all other tribes of the

They also do not show much interest in the old cairns, kistvans, sepulchral structures, and other remains that are found scattered all over these mountains, though they claim some as their own. It is, therefore, still a matter of some doubt whether these relics ought to be assigned to them in preference to the Kurumbas, who may perhaps have a more legitimate title to their possession. From many indications it would appear that the people who erected these stone buildings must have been agriculturists. The Todas, on the

natives of Hindustan, and their singular characteristics and strange habits have given rise to much speculation as to their origin and history. As no clue has however yet been discovered either in the form of monuments, coins, or even in their own traditions, by which research could be directed, all theories broached upon the subject cannot be otherwise than vain and illusory, especially those which have been based upon the assumption that the images, bones, and other relics which are found in the remarkable 'cairns' discovered in such numbers all over the Hills belonged to the ancestors of the Todas. (On p 63.) Their occupation is purely pastoral their only manual labor being the milking of the buffaloes, and converting portions of their milk into butter and ghee." Consult *An Account of the Primitive Tribes and Monuments of the Nilagiris*, by the late James Wilkinson Brooks, edited by his widow, London, 1873, pp 26 and 27. "The burning at funerals of a mimic bow and arrow together with the duly used implements of the deceased, and the importance assigned to the bow in the marriage ceremony, seem to me inexplicable, except on the theory that the bow was once the chief weapon of the Todas, although they are ignorant of its use now. This view is in a measure confirmed by the Todas' admission that their ancestors ate amber flesh, and that they would gladly do so now if they could obtain it and by the fact that they still recognise, and make offerings to a hunting God under the name of Belikhan, who, though he now resides in a temple at Nambicote beyond Ondaler, is they say, the son of their ancestor, Durkush. The question then arises how, and when did the bow fall into disuse with the Todas? The answer could seem to be found in the tradition mentioned by Colonel Ouchterlony, viz—that before the Badagas and Kotas came to the Hills, the Todas lived only by their herds and wore leaves. As far as the leaf dresses go, the story seems apocryphal. If the Todas had only adopted clothes after the arrival of the Badagas and Kotas, their garments would probably have Badaga or Kota names, whereas *paikuli*, *tharp*, *kenu*, &c., are among the few Toda words which Mr Metz can trace to no Dravidian roots. Besides, a hunting race would certainly wear skins. However, the story probably contains some truth. Before the cultivating tribes settled in the Hills, the Todas, unless they killed their cattle, would have no means of obtaining solid food except by hunting, for their traffic with the Western Coast must have been too intermittent and insignificant to be depended on for subsistence. Probably they were then expert in the use of the bow." Read further *A Phrenologist amongst the Todas*, by

other hand, are now shopherds, and lead a simple pastoral and nomadic life. They do not devote themselves to the cultivation of the soil, an occupation which the Badagas, who immigrated at a later period, especially follow. Yet the assumption that the Todas have always led a pastoral life, if substantiated, seems to speak against the connection of the Todas with such structures. However, it is quite possible that the sickles found in the cairns may have been used for other than agricultural purposes."

Lieutenant Colonel William E. Marshall, London, 1873, pp 2-8 and 136, and *A Manual of the Nilgiris District*, by H B Grigg Madras, 1880, pp 183-202. Compare about the Pails Mr Lewis Ruce's *Mysore Inscriptions*, Introduction pp xxxiii, xxxiv, and Metz, p 35.

"See Rev F Metz, *ibidem*, p 13. "Some few of the Todas maintain that the cairns are the work of their ancestors, but these are men who have been examined by Europeans. The majority, and especially the most respectable of them, do not hold this opinion, and it would be a strange anomaly indeed in a people so proverbial for their respect for the dead, to allow, as the Todas do, these places of interment to be rudely disturbed and desecrated by the hands of strangers did they believe them to be the receptacles of the ashes of their forefathers. Many of the circles constructed of loose stones which have been taken to be deserted temples of this tribe, were doubtless nothing more than buffalo-pens." And on p 121 "During the 13 years that I have labored amongst and mixed with the [hill-tribes], I have never found the Todas in any way interested in the cairns whilst the fact of their making no objection to their being opened, taken in connection with the circumstance of the contents frequently consisting of plough shares, sickles and other implements of husbandry, showing that the cairns were constructed by an agricultural race, which the Todas never were, are to me convincing proofs that they are not the work of the Todas of a past generation." The Rev Mr Metz states that such kist-vans are called *Mériaru mane*, house of the *Mérias*, and recognises in the latter the Mauryas or Usbeck Tatars. Is it perhaps possible to connect the term *Mériaru* with the *Mar* tribe? Peculiarly enough *Mēr* is the Toda expression for the *Kandah*, as in the Toda name *Mēr-kōldi* for Kotagiri i.e., the Kōta village (Kōkal) of the *Kandah*, see Brooks, p 36. Compare Captain Congreve's article *The Antiquities of the Neilgherry Hills*, including an Inquiry into the Descent of the *Thautawars* or *Todas*, in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, 1847, vol XIV, No 32, pp 77-146. Lieutenant Colonel Congreve contends that the Todas were the constructors of the old cairns and he gives on pp 84, 85 his reasons for it: "1st The shape of the cairns: a Circle of stones similar to that of the cemeteries of the Thautawars at this day. 2nd The basins and other utensils, knives, arrow-heads, shreds of cloth, mingled with charcoal and bones found in the cairns are precisely the same articles burned at the funeral of a modern Thautawar. 3rd In both cases these things are deposited

Some of their legends connect the Todas with the Raksasa king *Ravana*, others with his great antagonist, *Rama*. The ancestors of the Todas are said to have been the pulanquin hearers of *Ravana*, if so, they belong to the Gauda-Dravi-

in holes under large slabs in the middle of the cemeteries 4th The numerous figures of buffaloes some with bells round their necks made of pottery, found in the cairns are monuments of the antiquity of the Thantawar custom of sacrificing buffaloes decorated with bells at funerals 5th In every case I have observed a Thantawar village situated contiguously to the cairn, manifesting some connection 6th The Thantawars claim to be the original proprietors of the land a claim acknowledged by the English, as well as the Native inhabitants of the Hills 7th The prevailing opinion amongst the latter that these cairns belonged to the early Thantawar people 8th The absence of any inscription on any of the vessels dug out of the cairns considered with reference to the fact of the Thantawars having no written language 9th The circumstance of some lascars attempting to open a cairn in search of treasure being compelled to desist in their enterprize by the Thantawars of an adjoining village' Dr Shortt in the article above mentioned says on p 45 "The Todas themselves attribute the cairns found on the Neilgherries sometimes to a people who preceded them, at others to the Kurumbas, and that they formed their burial places It is generally believed by the Natives that these cairns and cromlechs are the work of the followers of the Pandean Kings, and that they at one time ruled on the Neilgherries also The Todas and Badagas likewise believe this while some of them attribute them to the Kurumbas The Rev Mr Metz is also of the latter opinion, and I am inclined to coincide with this gentleman" See also J W Brooks *Primitive Tribes of the Nilgiris* pp 72-110, p 95 'The Peranganad cairns, lying between Kotagerry and Kodanad differ less from those at Tuneri, the figures are generally smaller and rougher, and the colour darker, but the urns are often very fine, with strong glaze of mica It is, however, remarkable that the rougher remains are found in the division in which lie the two (probably) oldest Toda mounds and the only cairns claimed by the Todas (On p 96) At one time, they were generally assigned to the Todas, and Colonel Congreve wrote an elaborate essay to prove the Scythian origin of this people and their claim to the cairns His large theories and occasionally incorrect facts discredited his cause rather unduly, and of late years the cairns have been generally attributed either to the Kurumbas or to an extinct race Those who held these views however, seem to have been unaware of, or to have overlooked the significant fact that the Todas even now burn their dead in a circle of stones and bury the ashes there Now, not only may the circle of stones be called the fundamental idea of cairns and barrows, but some of them consist of insignificant circles of stones hardly to be distinguished from Toda *A-drums* except by the trees or bushes which indicate their greater age (On p 97) It will be seen that these old *A-drums* (supposing them to be *A-drums*) shew one or two marked points of approximation to the cairns 1st They prove that metal ornaments and objects

dian race, of whom Ravana was an ancient representative. This report is more likely to be true than that which describes them as Rama's followers who eventually settled in the south²²

of value were in old times actually buried by the Todas, instead of being, as now, only offered to the flames and taken away 2nd These objects include iron spears, chisels, and styles²³ at present unused by the Todas, but common in the caurns The spears were of rather different shape from most of those figured An old Toda, who had had possession of the spear of Kotén, but professed to have lost it, told me that it was something like these, but longer The style is very like some used in Malabar, hollow at the top, one cannot, however, imagine that twisting was ever a Toda accomplishment, it may have been used for marking pottery 3rd The receptacle for the ashes and remains, instead of being indifferently placed at any side of the circle, was, in three cases out of four, at the north-east edge (On p 92) Against the theory that the caurns belong to the Todas, it has been urged that they do not claim them This is not strictly correct, they *do*, as has been shewn, claim some But even if the statement were entirely true it is not of much consequence with a people like Todas I have known a Toda, while pointing out the *Adram* in which a funeral ceremony then going forward was to terminate, profess entire ignorance of the object of some other stone circles close at hand obviously old *Adrams* belonging to the same mand so that their disclaimer of the caurns carries little weight It has been further stated that the caurns contain agricultural implements, and must therefore have belonged to a comparatively civilized people Except the curious shears, which may have been used for various purposes, the only agricultural implements which have appeared in these investigations are sickles These may have been used for cutting grass and bushes, and it is singular that, although the Todas do not now use any tool of the kind, they burn with the dead the *Kaskatti*, a large curved knife, apparently intended for some such purpose, although, except in one instance, the cairn sickles are of different shape The *Kaskatti*, when committed to the flames is bound round with cotton cloth, traces of which are often found on the razors in the caurns On the whole, I think it is more satisfactory to assign the caurns to the Todas than to an unknown race Read also Mr H B Grigg's *Manual of the Nilgiris District*, pp 229-247, about the origin of the remains, see p 241, and about the sculptured cromlechs consult this passage "As regards the third class of monuments, none of the present hill inhabitants of the Hills are capable of executing sculptures of even so elementary a degree of art as those on the cromlechs" Mr. M J Walhouse has in the third and fifth volumes of the *Indian Antiquary* written some articles on the funerals, &c of the Todas, and in vol VI, p 41, he says "At any rate it is clear that these circles (*Adrams*) are claimed and formed by the Todas."

²² See Captain A Harkness's *Description of a singular Aboriginal Race inhabiting the Summit of the Nellyberry Hills* pp 24, 25 "They have some tradition bearing reference to a period about the time of Ravan

The Todas have five kinds of priests, of whom the *Pālāls* are held in the greatest sanctity. The *Pālāls*, who are five in number, belong to the highest class of the Todas and have charge of the sacred bells, which they carry to every *Mand* or hamlet. They subsist on the milk of the sacred herd, and have a *Kavalāl* as their attendant. The other priests of lower degree are the *Varlāl*, *Kokvali*, *Kurpuli* and *Pālī-kārpāl*. The temples, which are of two kinds, are called *Boa* and *Pālcī*, the former being sugarloaf-shaped and the latter like an ordinary house. There are, at present, only four *Boas* in existence; they may have originally belonged to some other race, as the Todas do not appear to hold them in very great respect, and their ministering priests belong only to the second rank.

The Todas have a large pantheon, but they revere particularly a hunting god called *Bētakan*, the son of Dirkish, the son of Ēn, the first Toda. His temple is at Namhala-kōd, in the Wainād. Besides him they worship *Hiriadēva*, whose representative is the sacred buffalo-bell, which hangs from the neck of the finest buffalo of the sacred herd.⁷³ The buffalo is indigenous only in the south-east of Asia,

when they say they inhabited the low country. One among these is that their forefathers were the subjects of Ravan, and that, being afterwards unable to bear the severities imposed on them by the successful Ravan, they fled to these mountains as a place of refuge, driving their herds before them, carrying their females and children on their shoulders, and vowing to wear no covering on their heads till they had wreaked their vengeance on their oppressors." Congreve, *loc. citato*, p. 110, says on the contrary: "The Thautawars have a tradition that their ancestors were subjects of Ravannah with whom they fled before Rama." About the legend of the Todas having been the palanquin bearers of Ravana, see Mr. H. B. Grigg's *Manual*, pp. 202, 252 and 256. About their coming with Rama consult the Rev. F. Metz, *ibidem*, p. 46: "The Brahmins of the plains maintain that the Todas were followers in the train of Rama when he came from the North to avenge himself on Ravana and that desiring independence they deserted, and fled to the Hills; but of this tradition the Todas themselves know nothing"; read also p. 65¹ and Mr. Grigg's *Manual*, p. 258.

⁷³ Read Mr. J. W. Brecks' *Account of the Primitive Tribes and Monuments of the Nilagiris*, pp. 13-17; and Mr. H. B. Grigg's *Manual*, pp. 192-196.

re, in South India, Burma and parts of China. It is not a native of the North-West. The most valuable property of the original inhabitants must have been formed by the herds of these animals, which were and are still highly esteemed and regarded worthy of carrying the symbol of the deity. The worship of the buffalo is a most striking feature and can only be traced to very ancient times. The buffalo figures also in *Māhismatī*, a town founded by king *Mahismat*, whose name implies that he was rich in buffaloes. The worship of the fire, or of *Agni*, prevailed here, and women were allowed unrestricted liberty in the choice of their husbands. The city was situated in the plateau south of the Gōdavarī, most probably on a tributary of the Krishna. King *Nila* of Dakṣiṇāpatha reigned here. He is mentioned as an ally of Duryōdhana, though he was killed in battle by the son of Drōṇa.¹⁴ The people of king *Nila* are called the *Māhisakas*, and are mentioned in the Ślōka previously to the *Kōltagirēyas*, the inhabitants of *Kōḷa* or *Kōlagiri*. This circumstance places the *Māhisakas* locally in proximity with the Gond tribes. Mysore or *Mahisdsura*, the country named according to tradition after the buffalo-shaped Asura *Mahiṣa*, may have been a part of king *Nila*'s empire. The Nilagiri mountains and Mysore are conterminous. The name of the Asura *Mahiṣa* is in this case also used as representing the

¹⁴ Compare the *Udyogaparva* XVIII, 23, 24 of the *Mahabharata*:

Sa ca samprāpya Kauravyam tatraivāntardadhe tadā,	
tathā Mahiṣmativast Nilo Nilayudhasa saha	23.
Mahipato mahavīryasir Dakṣiṇāpathavaśbhīḥ.	24.
and <i>ibidem</i> , Drōṇaparva XXXI,	24, 25.
Sa pūtaḥ ayandanāt tasman-Niḥscarmavarasibhṛt	
Draṇyaneṣṭh śuraḥ kayāddhartum aicchat patatīrat.	24.
Tasyōnnatāmsam sunasam śuraḥ kayāt sakundalam	
Ballenāpaharāt Draupīḥ smayamāna ivanagha.	25

See Christian Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol. I, pp 681-683 (or 567-569 in the first edition).

About the town *Mahismatī* (*Mahisvara*) on the Narmada in Indore compare the article "Mahisvara in Mālwa" by Rāoḥ Vasudeva Tullu, *and* the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. IV. (1875), pp 346-348.

people of the *Mahisas* or *Mahisals*, a circumstance to which I have previously on p 14 drawn attention in the case of the demons Bala Malla and others

The word *Malisa* has when combined with the Marathi *Ba* for *Bapa* father, assumed the form of *Mahsoba*, and the demon Mahsoba is to this day held in high veneration among the cultivators and the lower classes of the population A stoneblock generally covered with red lead colour and standing in a circle of other stones serves as his representative The structure resembles in this respect the rude stones worshipped by the Kurumhrs Of these I shall speak later on The worship of the buffalo to which the Todas still adhere is very interesting and may perhaps indicate the origin of this ancient tribe Some Gond tribes also sacrifice the buffalo This subject deserves to be fully enquired into¹⁵

Like other primitive races of Turanian or Scythian origin, the Todas revere the great luminaries of the sky, the Sun and the Moon, besides the Fire They have a very

¹⁵ Durga or Bhavani killed the buffalo shaped Asura *Mahisa* the well known *Mahisasura* after whom Mysore is called -

According to the legend in the Markandeyapurana *Diti* had lost all her sons the Asuras in the battle between the Gods and the Asuras With the object to annihilate the Gods she assumed the shape of a buffalo and underwent such dreadful austerities in order to propitiate Brahma and to obtain a son that the whole world was shaken in its foundations and what was worse the sage *Suparśva* was disturbed in his quiet hermitage He therefore cursed *Diti* to bring forth a buffalo instead of a human shaped son Brahma mitigated this curse by confining the buffalo form to the head and allowing the remainder of the body to be like that of a man This offspring was called *Mahisasura* who defeated the gods and ill treated them till they appealed for help to *Visnu* and *Siva* who jointly produced a beautiful representation of *Bhavani* the *Mahisuramardini* who slew the monster

The *Gaattier* of *Aurangabad* mentions *Mahsoba* on pp 347 and 358

* *Mahisasura* who was slain by *Parvati* and in honor of whom the feast of *Dassura* is celebrated is probably *Mahsoba* a demon much worshipped by the lower classes and especially by the cultivators, for the purpose of rendering their fields fertile The image is like a natural Langa, consisting of any rounded stone of considerable size found in the corner or to the side of a field This when covered with red lead becomes *Mahsoba* to which prayers are addressed, and coconuts fowls and goats are offered (p 347) On the southern side of the *Chanki* pass in the *Lakenwara* range between *Aurangabad* and *Phulmar* there is a shrine of *Mahsoba* consisting of a

dim idea of the divine powers; they possess hardly any religious rites; but they firmly believe in the existence of a life after death, in a heaven for the good and a hell for the bad.

The ceremonies at births, marriages and funerals are very curious and have often been described. They burn their dead with the face downwards, a custom which prevails still among the aborigines of some parts of Central India. The Todas go always bareheaded, as also do the Khonds. The habit of polyandry peculiar to the Gauda-Dravidian race is also prevalent among the Todas.

The interest which this tribe has excited is mainly due to their fine and striking appearance so different from that of other races and to their dwelling in a most picturesque country. The Todas are regarded by the other hill tribes as the lords of the soil, and as such exact a tribute (*gūdu*) from them. How they obtained this supremacy is unknown, and the acquisition of their influence is the more remarkable, as, unless they have greatly changed since their first appearance, they are not a war-like race, and could not have forced their way into these hills with the aid of arms. The fact that the Todas enjoy this peaceful supremacy proves them to be very ancient, if not the aboriginal inhabitants of these Hills. The Todas are steadily decreasing in numbers and, according to the last census, numbered only 689. Their reputation as sorcerers stood them in good stead and perhaps frightened into submission those who might otherwise have molested them. The Todas alone among the hill tribes

block of stone surrounded with smaller pieces, and all covered with red-lead. During the jatra which is held in the month of Chaitra, and lasts for four days, people of all castes, but especially the Kumbis, flock from a circle of a hundred miles, and offer many sheep in sacrifice."

The buffalo was the carrier of Yama, and he is therefore also known as *Mahadāya* and *Mahārdhana*. Skanda is known as *Mahārdana*, and one of his Matris is called *Mahārdana*. *Mahya* or *Mahya*, *Mahyaka* or *Mahiyaka* are names of people. *Mahyastali* is the name of a place, *Mahya* that of a mixed caste, and *Mahyika* besides meaning a herdsman is also used in the sense of a man who lives by the prostitution of his wife—Scap 164.

are not afraid of the Kurumbas, who are generally shunned as wizards

Very many conjectures have been ventured to explain the term *Toda* or *Tuda*. The *d* in this word is, according to Bishop Caldwell and the Rev. Mr. Metz, *dental* and not *lingual*, as the Rev. Dr. Pope is inclined to believe, for he spells it *Tuda*. Dr. Pope does so probably to support the derivation he proposea. He connects the name of the Toda with the Tamil word *Tolam*, herd, and derives from it a problematic word *Tolan*, in the sense of herdsman. The modern Tamil *Tolu*, a fold for cattle, is the root of *Tolunam* which is again contracted into *Tolam*. *Toluvār* signifies according to the dictionaries agriculturists, but the word *Tōlar* in this meaning is not given. Besides, the *o* in *Tōlar* is long, while that in *Toda* is short. Moreover, the people who keep these cattle-stalls are not herdsmen, but agriculturists. On the other hand the Todas are a pastoral, and not an agricultural tribe.⁷⁶

Having met with no explanation which satisfies me, I venture to propose one myself. I believe that the *t* in *Toda* or *Tuda* is a modification of an original *λ*, and that the real name is *Koda* or *Kuda*. This I explain as a derivation of

⁷⁶ See Dr. Winslow's *Tamil and English Dictionary*, p. 636, where *Tolunam* தொலுநம் is explained as agriculturists, மருதநிலமாககள். In Col. Marshall's *Phrenologist amongst the Todas* the first note on p. 1 is as follows: "Toda Tamil, Toravam and Tōram = a herd. And thus Toravau or Tōram = herdsman (Pope)." Compare Bishop Caldwell's *Introduction Comparative Dravidian Grammar*, p. 37. "Dr. Pope connects the name of the Todas with the Tamil word *Tora*, a herd, but the *d* of *Tuda* is not the lingual *d*, but the dental, which has no relationship to *r* or *l*. The derivation of the name may be regarded as at present unknown." The Rev. F. Kittel writes to the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. III, p. 205. "In Part XXIX of the *Indian Antiquary*, p. 93 seq. the name of a well-known small tribe on the Nilagiri is given as 'Tōja'. The lingual *d* in this word is not in the mouth of the Nilagiri people, these pronouncing it 'Toda'. The same remark is to be applied to the word 'Kōta' on p. 96; the true spelling of this name is 'Kōta'. The word 'Toda' may mean 'man of the top,' scil. of the hills. 'Kōta' can be derived from various Dravidian roots, it is difficult to say what its true meaning is. Certainly it does not mean 'cow-killer,' as some have thought."

lo or *lu*, mountain and *Koda* or *Kuda* signifies then a mountaineer. The change of *k* into *t* is perhaps not very common, yet it takes place occasionally. The Tamil *lē* to ask, is, *e g*, *tal* in Gondi; the Irula *lalage*, below, corresponds to *tālā* in Tamil and Malayalam; the Kurg *kidatu* and the Tamil *lilē*, below, is *tūt* in Tulu. The town *Kondōta*, mentioned by Ptolemy, is likewise called *Tondōta*, and the district *Khāndesh* is also known as *Tandesh*. The same change can be observed in the middle of a word, as the Sanskrit *śilaka* frontal mark, becomes optionally *śilakam* and *śilatam* in Tamil, and *sāttuku* is altered into *cātturikam* or *cāttuvitam*.¹⁷

Peculiarly enough, when inquiring into their name, I was informed by various Natives and even by some Todas that the Todavar తెదవర are also called Kodavar కెదవర.¹⁸

And this statement which supports my conjecture is upheld by several names of persons and places. I take thus Kodanād, which lies near Kōtagiri, and is the seat of one of the Palas containing some of the most ancient Todamanda in the sense of denoting the district of the Kodas.¹⁹ One of

¹⁷ The generally accepted derivation of Telugu or Telūga is from *Triūga*, but this remains doubtful as the term *Triūga* is a corruption of *Trihalūga*, to which the *Medogalingam* of Piny corresponds "Inula in Gange est magnæ amplitudinis gentem continens unam, *Medogalingam* nomine," Hist. Natur. Lib VI, cap 22. If *Telūga* is a modified form of *Kalūga*, this word would provide another example of the interchange between a *k* and *t*. About *Tandesh*, see p 159, n 54.

The *t* is occasionally chosen as the representative of all the others consonants, Kaumarila is thus playfully changed into *Tautdīsta* in Vedānta-deśikācārya's *Tattvamuktākalapa*, and *paduka* into *tātuta* in the *Pādūka-sāhasra* of the same author.

¹⁸ T. C. Maduranayaka Pillai, the clerk of Major-General Morgan, has told me of his own accord that he has often heard the Todavar call themselves and be called Kodavar. Some Kōtas whom I asked confirmed this evidence. A few Todas told me the same. They might have said so to please me, but they had no reason for so doing, as I had not expressed to them any opinion on that subject.

¹⁹ Kodanād lies on the north of Paranganād. It contains one of the oldest mandas and between it and Kōtagiri are found the sculptured Cromlechs of Illai aru. Some derive the name of Kodanād from *kōdan*, the Toda word for monkey, which corresponds to the Kōta term *lēḍe*, and the Badaga, Kurumba, and Irula *lēraḍu*. But the presence of the common

the sncestors of the Todas is called Kotën,⁸⁰ and the Huli-kaldrug is also named Kodātha-betta, after the god Kodātha.⁸¹

The Todas have many customs which are also met with among other tribes, e.g., among the Kols. But this coincidence does not prove the existence of any relationship. The same rites and practices often prevail among totally different people who live at a great distance from one another. The singular custom by which the youngest son becomes heir to the property in opposition to the law of *primogeniture* is observed by the Todas in South India as well as by some Holstein peasants in North Germany.

brown monkey *kodan* (*tāruni* being the black monkey) is hardly a distinctive feature of any district on the hills. It is perhaps possible that the Todas changed the initial letter of their original name in order to avoid any allusion to that of the monkey.

⁸⁰ About Kotën read Brooke's *Primitive Tribes of the Nilagiri*, pp. 34, 36, 37, 97, 99. Kotën is said to have brought the Kotas up to the hills, though they are also represented to have been born on the hills, p. 38. 'Kotën went to the Kundahs, and established a *Tiriar* and *Pālai*, and placed the Kotas at the Kundah *Ketagiri*, called by the Todas *Mérkōkal*.' 37. "After this, Kotën went to a Kurumba village in Banu Shima, and on his return, when bathing in a stream, a hair of a golden colour came to his hand, he followed it up stream to find the owner of the hair, and saw a Swāmi woman, by name *Tērkośh*, whom he married. After this, Kotën returned home to his mand near the Avalanche. Kotën slept on a deer skin, wore a silver ring, and carried a spear, bow, and arrow. On the night of his return he went to sleep, and in the morning nothing was found of him but his spear and ring and some blood on the deer-skin. He and *Tērkośh* were transformed into two hills, on the *Sisapara* side of the hills, to which both Kurumbas and Todas pay occasional ceremonial visits. The Kurumbas light a lamp on the hill *Tērkośh*. When the Todas see these two hills, they sing the song about Kotën. (Thus five gods are connected in these traditions with different hills, viz. —*Darkish*, *Kodātha*, *Parah*, *Kotën*, and *Tērkośh*. If the Todas originally deified every hill, not an unnatural worship for mountaineers, the number of their gods, otherwise astonishing, is accounted for. The Todas, in common with the other hill tribes, still offer ghee to be burnt to *Maleswaramalai*.)"

⁸¹ About *Kodātha* read *ibidem*, p. 35. "One day the Gods took counsel, saying 'why does the kite come here, let us drive him out', so one of them, *Kodātha*, took the kite home to *Kodātha-betta* (*Hulikaldurga*) and pushed him over, the kite, in falling, caught hold of a bamboo, with which he returned, and struck *Kodātha's* head, so that it split into three pieces."

Though it is difficult as yet to decide definitively the ethnological status of the Todas, I believe I have been successful in assigning them to the Gaudian branch of the Gauda-Dravidian race.

The Kotas.

Next to the Kurumhas and Todas the Kotas are the most ancient inhabitants of the Nilagiri range. According to Toda tradition Kōten introduced them to these hills. Though they are regarded as the Pariah element among the hill-tribes, it is possible that they were originally more nearly related to the Todas, whom they call their *annata-malu*, i.e., brothers. They have many customs in common with the Todas, e.g., that which constitutes the youngest brother as heir of the house, a practice which seems also to prevail among the Kurumhas. They recognize no caste distinctions, but are sub-divided into *Keris* or streets. They are a very industrious tribe and devote themselves to agriculture and to various sorts of handicrafts. They excel as carpenters, smiths, tanners, basket-makers, &c. They acknowledge the Todas as the lords of the soil, and pay them tribute (*gūdu*). They are well-formed, of average height, not badly featured and fair-skinned. They live in seven villages, one of which is in the neighbourhood of Gūḍalar.²² The last census fixes their

²² Compare Dr Shortt's *Account of the Tribes of the Nilgherries*, pp. 53-57. "This tribe ranks next to the Todas in priority of occupation of these hills. They have no caste, and are in this respect equal to the Pariahs of the low country, and as a body, are the most industrious of the hill tribes, giving much of their time and attention to agriculture and handicraft, &c. . . They also employ themselves as *Curriers*, and are highly esteemed in the plains for the excellent leather they cure . . . They acknowledge the Todas as lords of the soil. At the same time they exact from each hamlet of the Badagas within certain distance of their own village, certain annual fees, which they receive in kind for services rendered as handicraftsmen, &c., in addition to that of ceremonial or festive occasions for menial services performed . . . In confirmation of their having followed the Todas as settlers on these Hills they hold the best lands, and have the privilege of selecting the best whenever they wish to extend their holdings. They are well made and of tolerable height, rather good featured and

number at 1,122 souls, 55 Kōtas are assigned to the Bombay Presidency⁸³

It seems probable that the Todas and Kotas lived near each other before the settlement of the latter on the Nilagiri. Their dialects too betray a great resemblance, and, if my conjecture concerning the original name of the Todas is confirmed, their names at first were also much alike.⁸⁴ The Kotas are the only hill people who are not afraid of the Todas, and they treat them occasionally even with bare courtesy, though, as a rule, a Kōta, when meeting a Toda and Badaga, lifts both his hands to his face and makes his obeisance from a distance. They do also not, like the other hill tribes, stand in awe of the mysterious power of witchcraft, with which the Todas are credited.

According to a tradition of theirs they lived formerly on Kollimalai, a mountain in Mysore⁸⁵. They possess, like most Hindus, a tradition concerning their special creation. Their god, Kamataraya perspired once profusely and "he wiped from his forehead three drops of perspiration, and out of them formed the most ancient of the hill-tribes, viz, the Todas, Kurumbas, and Kotas. The Todas were told to "live principally upon milk, the Kurumbas were permitted

light skinned having a copper color and some of them are the fairest skinned among the Hill tribes. They have well formed heads covered with long black hair grown long and let loose or tied up carelessly at the back of the head. The women are of moderate height of fair build of body and not nearly so good looking as the men." Read also Brecks' *Primitive Tribes of the Nilagiris* pp 40-47 and Metz pp 127-132.

⁸³ The Census mentions 3 232 *Kotak* in the North Western Provinces, 1 112 *Kotakas* 512 *Kotajas* and 1 676 *Kottahars* in Madras.

⁸⁴ See Rev F Metz *loc citato* p 127. "The close affinity existing between the language of the Todas and that of the Kotas leads me to believe that both these tribes came from the same quarter and that they probably settled on the Nilgherries at about the same period."

⁸⁵ See Metz *ibidem* p 127. "According to one of their traditions the Kotas formerly lived on a mountain in Mysore called Kollimalé after which they named the first village they built on the Nilgherries. They now occupy seven tolerably large villages, all of which are known by the general name of Kotagiri or Cow killers hill."

"to eat the flesh of buffalo calves, and the Kotas were
 "allowed perfect liberty in the choice of their food, being
 "informed that they might eat carrion, if they could get
 "nothing hotter, and beef also, though it is repulsive to all
 "Hindu notions" ⁶⁸

It is wrong to connect the name of the Kotas with cow-slaying and to derive it from the Sanskrit *go hatya*. This derivation seems to have been suggested from *Kohatur*, one of the corrupted forms of the name of the *Kōtar* or *Kōter*. According to the late Mr Brecks, in his *Primitive Tribes of the Nilagiris*, p 40 "The Todas call them *Kuof*, or cow-people," but singularly enough the Toda word for cow is *danam*, like the Kurumba and Badaga *dana*. Dr Pope on the other hand goes so far as to contend that the Todas had no word for cow, a statement which I regard as extremely venturous. However in both circumstances, if the Todas have no term for cow, or if that term is *danam*, they could not have called the *Kōtas*, *Kuof* or cow people. Moreover, the *Kotas* would not call themselves by such a name, nor would the *Todas* and the other hill tribes who have no knowledge of Sanskrit apply a Sanskrit word to designate their neighbours. The derivation of the term *Kota* is, as clearly indicated, from the Gauda Dravidian word *ko*, (*ku*), mountain, and the *Kotas* belong to the Gaudian branch ⁶⁹. It is a peculiar coincidence

⁶⁸ Metz pp 27 and 128. The *Kotas* are the only of all the hill tribes who practise the industrial arts and they are therefore essential almost to the very existence of the other classes. They work in gold and silver are carpenters and blacksmiths tanners and rope makers umbrella makers potters and musicians and are at the same time cultivators of the soil. They are however a squalid race living chiefly on carrion and are on this account a bye word among the other castes who while they feel that they cannot do without them nevertheless abhor them for their filthy habits. All the cattle that die in the villages are carried off by the *Kotas* and feasted on by them in common with the vultures with whose tastes their own precisely agree and at no time do the *Kotas* thrive so well as when there is murrain among the herds of the *Todas* and *Badagas*.

⁶⁹ See Brecks p 40. The name is found differently spelt *Kota* *Kotar* *Kōter* *Kohatar*. The derivation is uncertain. *Kohata* or *Gohata*

that according to the statement of Mr Ramiah, Deputy Superintendent of Mysore, the "Lingayet Pañchālas (workers in metals) and Huttagers are called Kotars in this part of the country (Harihar), and they worship Kāma (god) and Kurymena (goddess)" To this remark Mr. Breeks⁸³ adds: "Also that a caste of the same name exists in Marwār and Guzerat" Dr. Fr Buchanan makes a similar remark about the goddess of the Pañcalas⁸⁹

The occupation and the worship of the Mysore Kōtas confirmed to a certain degree the tradition of the Nilagiri Kōtas when they contend that they came from Mysore.

cow-killer, has been suggested, but this seems doubtful. The Todas call them Kuof, or cow people." Read also Mr H B Grigg's *District Manual*, pp 203-213. On p 203 he says "The name is differently spelt Kōtu, Kōter, Kōtar, Kōhatur and Kotturs. Its derivation is doubtful. The Todas call them Kuof or cow men, and, arguing from this word, some connect it with Kō (Sans) cow, and Kātya, : s, cow killing. The first part of the derivation is probably correct. They are emphatically men of the cow, as opposed to the buffalo, the animal of the Toda. The latter they are never allowed to keep, the former they keep, but do not, for superstitious reasons, milk." Compare note 76 on p 190 where Rev F Kittel also decides against the explanation of Kōta as cow killer.

The Rev Dr Pope peculiarly enough declares on page 261 of his *Toda Grammar* in Lieut -Colonel Marshall's *Phrenologist amongst the Todas* "NB —No Toda word for cow, plough, sword, or shield." Yet according to Rev F Metz's *Vocabulary of the Toda Dialect* in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, vol XVII (1857), p 136, and to Mr Breeks' *Vocabulary*, on p 113, the Toda equivalent for cow is *danam*. Rev F Metz, *loc. citato*, gives *nekhei* as the Toda word for plough, and *urthbini* (pronounced *ulthbini*) for to plough.

⁸³ See Breeks' *Primitive Tribes of the Nilagiris*, p 47

⁸⁹ See Dr Fr Buchanan's *Journey from Madras through Mysore, Canara, and Malabar*, Madras, 1870, vol I, p 477. "The deity peculiar to the caste (of the Panchalar) is *Camochuma*, or *Kalima*, who is, they say, the same with *Parvati*, the wife of *Śiva*." Compare Breeks' *Primitive Tribes*, p 44. "The chief Kōta festival, however, is the annual feast of *Kamatarāya*, called *Kambata* or *Kamata*." Read also Grigg's *Manual*, p 205. "The Kōtas had, it is said, formerly but one deity *Kamatarāya*, but they also worship his wife (*Kahasuma* or *Kahku*), each is represented by a silver plate. The god is also called *Kambata* and *Kamata*." *Kāmata* may be of Sanskrit origin. *Kamadeva* is a name of *Śiva*, and *Kamakṣi* one of *Durgā* or *Kālī*.
కామదేవుడు 'Kāmadēvu' signifies in Telugu workman.

CHAPTER XI.

ON THE KURAVAS (KURUVAS, KURUMAS), KORACARU, KURUS (YERAKULAS), KAURS, KUNNUVAS.

The above-mentioned names are representative terms of various kindred tribes who live scattered in this country. While a considerable majority of their relatives in Northern India have embraced agricultural pursuits and form a preponderant element of the rustic population, many of their cousins in Southern India still cling to their old mountain homes, or roam as migratory hordes over the country, or are leading a pastoral life as shepherds.

For the sake of lucidity I shall consider these tribes under separate heads and begin with the wandering Kuravas.

ON THE KURAVAS (KURUVAS, KURUMAS), KORACARU, &c.

These wandering tribes are known over the greater part of India as Kuravas (Koravas) or Kurumas. They are also known as Koracaru (Korcaru, Korsaru or Kuruciyar), which term may be either a variation of Korava, the *v* being changed into *c*, or, as has been suggested, may be explained as a mixed compound from *lora* mountain and the Sanskrit root *car*, to go, so that it means hill-walkers. In this case their name reminds one of their Dravidian brothers the Malacar (Malasar). Dr. Francis Buchanan by calling the Koragas of South-Kanara Koravas, identifies them with the latter. At another place, however, he names the Koravas also Koramas

In consequence of their roving life and the begging and cheating propensities which so many Kuravas exhibit, they are much disliked and shunned.⁹⁰ They wander continually

⁹⁰ Compare Dr. Francis Buchanan's *Journey from Madras through the Countries of Mysore, Canara, and Malabar*, second edition, vol. I, pp. 174, 175. "The Coramas, or Coramarn, are a set of people considered by the Brâhmins as an impure or mixed breed. They make baskets and trade in grain and salt to a considerable extent, but none of them can read or write

from one place to another, gaining a precarious livelihood by making and selling wicker baskets of bamboo and reed grass, or mats and other household utensils of bamboo. Some of them also know how to prepare metal wires of steel, copper, and iron. They are famous bird-catchers, clever snake-jugglers, and very experienced hunters. If nothing else offers, they pierce the ears of children to insert ornaments, or tattoo the limbs of persons who desire this embellishment of their body. Most of their women are fortune tellers, while the men profess often to be conjurors.

They live, in general, in small camps of moveable huts, which are sometimes stationary near large towns, but they are often in a state of daily motion, while the people are following the mercantile concerns. The *Coramas* consist of four families, *Majdraguta*, *Canaderu*, *Maynapatru*, and *Satipatru*. These are analogous to the *Gotrams* of the *Brahmans*, for a man and woman of the same family never intermarry, being considered as too nearly allied by kindred. The men are allowed a plurality of wives and purchase them from their parents. The agreement is made for a certain number of *sansis*, which are to be paid by instalments as they can be procured by the young woman's industry, for the women of this caste are very diligent in spinning and carrying on petty traffic. When the bargain has been made, the bridegroom provides four sheep, and some country rum, and gives a feast to the caste, concluding the ceremony by wrapping a piece of new cloth round his bride. Should a man's wife prove unfaithful, he generally contents himself with giving her a beating as she is too valuable to be parted with on slight grounds, but, if he chooses, she may be divorced. In this case, he must assemble the caste to a feast, where he publicly declares his resolution, and the woman is then at liberty to marry any person that she chooses, who is willing to take her. The *Coramas* do not follow nor employ the *Brahmans*, nor have they any priests, or sacred order. When in distress they chiefly invoke *Vencaty Ramana*, the *Tripathi Iswara*, and vow small offerings of money to his temple, should they escape. They frequently go into the woods and sacrifice fowls, pigs, goats, and sheep, to *Muni*, who is a male deity and is said by the *Brahmans* to be a servant of *Iucara*, but of this circumstance the *Coramas* profess ignorance. They, as usual, eat the sacrifice. They have no images, nor do they worship any. Once in two or three years the *Coramas* of a village make a collection among themselves, and purchase a brass pot, in which they put five branches of the *Melina adirachia* and a coco-nut. This is covered with flowers and sprinkled with sandal-wood water. It is kept in a small temporary shed for three days, during which time the people feast and drink, sacrificing lambs and fowls to *Marima*, the daughter of *Siva*. At the end of the three days they throw the pot into the water."

Read also Abbé J. A. Dubois' *Description of the Character, Manners and Customs of the People of India*, third edition, Madras, 1879, pp. 335-338. "The

They generally bury their dead in solitary and unknown places at night, and the traces of their dead disappear so completely that the Natives have a common saying: "Nobody has seen a monkey's carcass or the corpse of a Kurava," and if anything is irretrievably lost the fact is intimated by the proverb: "It has gone to the burial place of the Kuravas and to the dancing room of the wandering actors."

As a rule they do not acknowledge the priestly supremacy of the Brahmans, nor do they worship Hindu divinities, unless Hinduized to a certain extent. However, many

vagrants called Kuravars are divided into three branches. One of these is chiefly engaged in the traffic of salt, which they go, in bands, to the coasts to procure, and carry it to the interior of the country on the backs of asses, which they have in great droves. . . . The trade of another branch of the Kuravars is the manufacture of osier panniers, wicker baskets, and other household utensils of that sort, or bamboo mats. This class, like the preceding, are compelled to traverse the whole country, from place to place, in quest of employment. The third species of Kuravars is generally known under the name of *Kalla-Bantru* or robbers, and indeed those who compose this caste are generally thieves or sharpers, by profession and right of birth. The distinction of expertness in sitching belongs to this tribe. The *Kalla-Bantru* are so expert in this species of robbery (of cutting through the mud wall an opening sufficiently large to pass through), that, in less than half-an hour, they will carry off a rich lading of plunder, without being heard or suspected till day-light discloses the villainy."

See Rev M. A. Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, vol. III, p. 142. "Koravar, a tribe of thieves and vagabonds wandering about the districts of the Carnatic. This tribe is common to several districts. Among the Tamils these people are called Koravars, but by the Telugus, Yerakalas. In North Arcot they mortgage their unmarried daughters to pay their creditors when unable to pay their debts. In some districts they obtain their wives by purchase, giving a sum varying from thirty to seventy rupees. The clans into which they are divided do not intermarry. In Madura and South Arcot the Koravars are hawkers, petty traders, dealers in salt, jugglers, box-makers, breeders of pigs and donkeys, and are a drunken and dissolute race." Compare J. H. Nelson's *Manual of Madura*, Part II, p. 69, about the *Kuravars*.

Consult further Dr. Edward Balfour "On the Migratory Tribes of Natives in Central India" in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. XIII, 1844, pp. 9-12. "The *Korawa*. This migratory people arrange themselves into four divisions, the *Bajantsi*, *Telung*, *Kolia*, and *Sohi Korswas*, speaking the same language, but none of them intermarrying or eating with each other. Whence they originally migrated it would be difficult perhaps now to come to a conclusion, nor could it be correctly ascertained how far they extend. The *Bajantsi*, or *Gaon ka korawa*, the musical or village *Korawa*, are met

revere Vēnkatesvara of Tripatī, or Śiva and Kālī in their cruder forms, the latter especially as *Mariamma* Gurunātha, a village god whose presence is indicated by a rude stone situated under a tree, is also an object of their veneration, though some Kurumbas claim him as their special god. Their own elders generally fill the position of priests.

They practise polygamy and are said to pawn their wives for debt. Their family disputes are decided by arbitrators, but they often nurse their quarrels to such an extent that an interminable law suit is called a Kurava's strife.

They have different sub divisions in various parts of the country, either according to their various clans or the occupation they follow, and the latter soon becomes a tribal distinction. Dr Francis Buchanan mentions a classification

with in Beysore Bellary Hyderabad and throughout Canara. Their food differs from that of the Hindoo as well as the Mahomedan: they never eat the cow or bullock but the jackal porcupine hog and wild boar deer and tigers are sought after and used by them. They deny that robbery is ever made a regular mode of earning a subsistence: an honesty however that the people among whom they dwell give them but little credit for. They live by thieving making grass screens and baskets. The men likewise attend at festivals marriages and births as musicians which has obtained for them the name of Bajantri. The women too earn a little money by tattooing on the skin the marks and figures of the gods which the females of all castes of Hindus ornament their arms and foreheads with. The age for marrying is not a fixed time and different from every other people in India: the youth of the female is not thought of consequence. It is not unusual to have two three or four wives in one household among these people. These people live virtuously: the abandonment of their daughters is never made a trade of, and other classes speak favorably of their chastity. They respect Brahmans though they never seem to respect the gods of the Hindoo mythology. The Telung Korawa (generally known as Kusb Korawa Aghare Pal Wale prostitate Korawas) gain a livelihood by basket making and selling brooms in making which their wives assist: but the chief means of subsistence is in the prostitution of their female relatives whom for that purpose they devote to the gods from their birth. The goddess in whose service the lives of the Telung Korawas devoted women are thus to be spent has her chief shrine near Bellary. They never devote more than one of their daughters: the rest are married and made honest women of. These bury the dead and the food that was most liked by the deceased is placed at the head of the grave. The most favorable omen of the state of the departed soul is drawn from its being eaten by a crow: less auspicious if by a cow: but if both the crow and cow decline to

based on the family system, while Abbé Dubois gives another derived from occupation, and Dr Balfour prefers one of local origin

In the census report these people are arranged under different heads, and their aggregate number amounts to nearly 175,000.⁸¹

ON THE KURUS (YERAKULAS) AND KAURS

Another tribe who are acknowledged as a separate class of the Kuravas are the *Yerakulavandiu* or *Yerakalararu*, who call themselves *Kuru*, *Kulururu* or *Kola*, while the Tamil people designate them as *Kuratar*, whom they resemble in their manners and customs.⁸² They live in

eat it, they deem the dead to have lived a very depraved life, and impose a heavy fine on his relatives for having permitted such evil ways."

About the name consult *Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms*, by H H Wilson, p 294 "*Koracharu* also *Korcharu*, *Korvaru*, or *Korsaru*, &c, corruptly *Korchoor*. The name of a tribe in the Karnatic, whose business is making bamboo mats and baskets, or who carry betelnuts from market to market they live in the hills and forests

"*Koravarava*, *Koramaratannu*, or *Koratanu*, or abbrev *Koravar*, *Koram*. The name of a low tribe in Mysore, of which there are three branches—*Kalla-koram*, who are professed thieves, *Palaga-koram*, who are musicians, and *Hakki-koram*, who are a migratory race, and subsist by making baskets, catching birds, &c they are hill and forest tribes and have a dialect of their own (the name may be only a local modification of *Kola*, or *Cole*, the hill tribes of Hindustan)" On p 305 "*Kurucheluyan*, or *Kuruman*, Mal. A class of people inhabiting the hills in Wynad."

⁸¹ According to the Census Report of 1881, there were registered in India 7,875 *Kurumar* in Madras, 1,071 *Gorcha* in the North-Western Provinces, 24 *Hakikoraw* in Hyderabad, 11,864 *Korachar* in Mysore, 110,473 *Koratar* in Madras and Travancore, 597 *Korchar* in Bombay, 3,448 *Koruricacasayar* in Madras, 14,106 *Korru* in Bombay, 1,001 *Koravandiu* in Madras 31,644 *Kura* in the Central Provinces 14 *Koravar* in the Central Provinces, and 3,135 *Kurica* in Hyderabad, &c

⁸² Consult H H Wilson's *Glossary*, pp 550, 551 "*Yerkullerav*, (?) Tel probably for *Yerkuraddu*, pl *Yerkurandiu*, and the same as those corruptly termed *Yerkelicanloo*, *Yera-ledi*, *Yerakelloo* (யெரகல்லு) The designation of a wild migratory tribe who subsist on game and all sorts of flesh they make and sell baskets and mats, and are considered as outcasts both men and women pretend to be fortune tellers and conjurers they are also said to be called *Koorala-udulu*, *Yerkel-ucanloo* (uculu, or more correctly *vandiu*, being only the plural of *vadu*), *Yera ledi*, and *Yerakelloo* but to be known amongst themselves as *Kuyy*, they are possibly the same who appear

like manner under tents fixed by bamboo poles and covered with mats made of reed grass. They are also continually roaming about, avoiding villages and towns and preferring to pitch their tents in some open ground a few miles distant from inhabited places, only to strike them again after a few days' stay. They thus wander over Hyderabad, the Ceded Districts, and other adjacent provinces. Their tents of which every family possesses a separate one, with a few

among the predial slaves in Kurg under the name of *Ierruonroo*, i.e., *Erra odndlu* ? red men, or *Yevoru qv* or *Yerlan*, or *Erehien*, (?) also specified amongst the servile races of Kurg."

Further see "The Migratory Races of India," by Assistant Surgeon Edward Balfour, Madras Army, in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, vol. XVII (1857) pp. 49. "The Coorroo. This seems to be a branch of the Kerasa people two divisions of whom were described by me in an article on the Migratory Tribes of India. This wandering race occupy the Ceded Districts and are called by Mahomedans 'Koorshé Wanloo,' Telings give them the names of 'Yerkel wanloo,' 'Yera keedi' and 'Yera kelloo,' and the Aravas know them as Coortee but their designation among themselves is Coorroo, the *rr* being pronounced by them with a loud thrilling sound. I believe them to be a branch of the Kerasa people from the similarity of their customs and from their using similar articles of diet, but the term *kerasa* was quite new to this community, who, although familiar with the appellations of the Mahomedans and Hindoos, told me that Coorroo was the only name they ever designated themselves by. They live in huts constructed of mats, very neatly woven from a long grass named in Telagoo "zambho" which grows in the beds of tanks, and which they spread over a bamboo frame work. They are incessantly on the move, wandering about the country, and they never reside inside of towns, but pitch their little camps on open plains three or four miles from some inhabited place. They rarely remain above two or three days in one spot and their journeys are of considerable length. The value of one of their huts would hardly amount to half a rupee (one shilling) asses, goats and pigs constitute their wealth, the two last of these they use as food and sell for money in towns. They, likewise, earn a little by selling grass mats and baskets made of canes and bamboos, the handy work of the men but which are sold by the women. Each family in their communities lives apart in its own hut, constructed, as above mentioned by the mats woven by themselves. The men informed me that they usually marry about the time that their mustaches appear (18 years of age?) with women who have attained maturity and a bride is never taken to her husband's hut before two months after this period of her life. They marry one wife only, but they can keep as many of their women as they choose. The greatest number however, that any of my informants remembered to have seen in one man's hut was one wife and three kept women, this latter class being in general widows

asses, goats, and pigs represent their property. They earn besides a precarious living by selling grass mats and cane or bamboo-baskets, which are made by the men, but hawked about and sold by the women. In their wanderings they sometimes commit all sorts of robberies and often are troublesome dacoits and highway robbers.

Accounts vary about their marriage customs. According to some, the *tali* or marriage string is bound round the

The marriage ceremony consists in sprinkling rice and turmeric over the bride and bridegroom's head and after it is over the bride returns to her parents and remains with them for five days. The Cooroo attaches much importance to the purity of their unmarried females, but they regard a want of integrity in their married women as a trivial matter. They drink all sorts of intoxicating drinks but never use opium or any of the preparations from hemp. They never use the flesh of the horse, jackall, tiger, cheetah or crow but they eat the hog, mouse, rat, wild rat, and fowls. It is difficult to say what their religion is. They do not bind on the *tali* in marriage or use any of the Hindu sectarian marks on their foreheads, neither do they revere the Brahmans or any religious superior nor perform any religious ceremony at any Hindu or Buddhist temple but they told me that when they pray they construct a small pyramid of clay which they term Mariammah and worship it. But though they seem thus almost without a form of religion the women had small gold and silver ornaments suspended from cords round their necks and which they said had been supplied to them by a goldsmith from whom they had ordered figures of Mariamma. The form represented is that of the goddess Kali, the wife of Siva. They mentioned that they had been told by their forefathers that, when a good man dies his spirit enters the body of some of the better animals as that of a horse or cow, and that a bad man's spirit gives life to the form of a dog or jackall but though they told me this they did not seem to believe it. They believe firmly however in the existence and constant presence of a principle of evil who they say, frequently appears. When they die the married people are burned but the unmarried are buried quite naked without a shroud or kufi, or other clothing a custom which some other castes in India likewise follow. The Cooroo people are naturally of a bamboo color, though tanned by the sun into a darker hue. Their faces are oval with prominent bones, their features having something of the Tartar expression of countenance. The dialect spoken by the 'Cooroo' as their lingua franca in their intercourse with the people of the country is the Teloo-goo and I was surprised to find them entirely ignorant of the Canarese language although living exclusively among the Canarese nation.

Compare also Mr H F Stokes account of these people in the *Manual of the Vellore District* compiled and edited by Mr John A C Buxwell, &c. &c. pp 154-157. These people (the Yerukalas) wander from place to place, as they find it easy to gain a living pitching their huts generally in open places near villages. Their property consists principally of cattle and asses,

neck of the woman, according to others this is not the case. This discrepancy may be explained by some having adopted the usual Hindu customs, while others still keep aloof from them. With respect to their religious worship the same observation may hold good. There is no doubt that originally they did not worship any Hindu deities nor did they in consequence perform any religious ceremonies at any Hindu shrine, nor revere the Brahmans as their religious superiors. In fact the

and they act as carriers of salt and grain they cut firewood in the jungles and sell it in the villages they also gather and sell a leaf called karepaku (the black margosa) they eat game flesh of all sorts and jungle roots. They all both women and men pretend to tell fortunes these people like all the wandering tribes of the district are basket makers. They are stout men and very hardy in constitution. Like the Yanadies they tie their hair in a knot over the forehead. Lieutenant Bulmer in his letter to the Collector dated 22nd May 1866 No 317 writes the following as to the Yerukalas. The crimes they are addicted to are dacoity highway robbery and robbery they are the most troublesome of our wanderers. The gods whom they chiefly worship are Mahalakshmi and Venkateswara (to whom the Trippati temple is sacred) and they also sacrifice to the pitris manes of their ancestors. They state generally that all gods worshipped by Hindus are worshipped by them. The old men of the tribe are priests. Each tribe or family has a god which is carried about with the encampment. One which I have seen was a piece of wicker work about five inch square, cased in black canvas one side being covered with white sea shells imbedded in a red paste. It was called Polaperamma. Polygamy is practised among the Yerukalas and the number of wives is only limited by the means of the husband. There is no polyandry nor is there any trace of the custom which sometimes is found among rude tribes of the brothers of a family having their wives in common. The marriage string is always tied round the neck of the wife. The females are said not to marry till they are full grown. The ceremony usually takes place on a Sunday *poo* having been made on the Saturday. Rice mixed with turmeric is poured on the heads of the married couple the marriage string is tied on and the ceremony is complete. During the lifetime of her husband a wife may not marry another man, but after his death she may if she wishes. A man supports all his children by all his wives. If he has a great number, the brothers will take some of them but when they are grown up they return to their father's family. Sons so reared will, through gratitude, support their uncles in old age. I have collected a number of words and phrases of the Yerukalas among themselves—a language which is unintelligible to the Telugu people. The most cursory glance at these is sufficient to produce the conviction that it is a Tamil dialect. It has been considerably mixed as is to be expected with Telugu and Canarese but in its structure it is plainly Tamil. The Yerukalas understand Tamil when spoken and it is superfluous to state analogies between their dialect and Tamil inasmuch as

old men of the tribe are to this day their priests. They mainly worship Mariamma or Polêramma, an image of whom generally accompanies each tribe in its wanderings. The god Vênkatêśvara of Tripati is also held in respect by a great many. They generally keep a lamp burning night and day in their encampments before which they offer up prayers.

the former is nothing but a patois of the latter, in which Telugu and Canarese words are freely used. There can be no doubt as to the fact that the Yerukalas are a Tamil tribe, but there are some points connected with the name and language which seem to throw further light on the question. The name has two forms in Telugu, one Yerukuvandlu said by Brown and Campbell to be derived from 'Yeru' to know, and to have reference to their fortune telling powers and one Yerukulavandlu, the first of this word is evidently not a plural of 'Yeruku' but a distinct word. This seems to be recognized by Brown and Wilson who conjecture that 'Yeru' is a prefix to be connected by the word 'arra' red. The Yerukulas in this district state that their tribe name in their own language is 'Kurru' also, Kola, and I think there can be no doubt that the 'Yer' or 'Yeru' is a mere prefix and that 'Kala,' Wilson's 'Kulivar' represents the real name of the tribe. To connect 'Yer' or 'Yeru' with the Telugu 'arra,' red seems quite meaningless. It might perhaps be compared with 'Yeruru' mentioned by Wilson, or which seems more plausible to suppose it to be the word 'Yeruku' (which as has been said is one designation of the tribe in Telugu, compounded with the real tribe name 'Kurruvandlu,' or Kolavandlu, when, according to a common euphonic law in Telugu, the two 'k's' would coalesce and the word becomes Yerukulavandlu. The second 'l' would easily be dropped and the word assume its common form Yerukalavandlu. I have been unable to find that there are any traditions among these people as to the country from which they came, one of them indignantly repudiated the notion of a Tamil origin. The language, however, and the tribe name 'Kurru' seems to me unmistakably to point to the identity of this tribe with the well-known Kuravar or Koravar of the Tamil districts."

The *Historical and Descriptive Sketch of H. H. the Nizam's Dominions* contains in vol I, pp 326-25 an account of the Yerukalavandlu. "The Yerukalvars are a nomad tribe living in huts made of palmyra leaves or reeds. They are found in some of the eastern districts of the Dominions. They live on the flesh of swine, game and carrion, and a little grain they may get in barter for the mats and baskets they construct. They snare birds with bird lime and they have a small breed of dogs with which they kill hares. They kill most of the dogs when young, but retain the bitches to which, when they are intended for hunting they give a certain root that renders them barren. Brahmans will not approach the Yerukalvars but the Jangam of the Lingayets is more phant, and on the occasion of a death, for a present of some grain, he attends and blows his conch. Their marriage ceremonies consist in a headman whom they elect for the occasion and place on a

The explanation of their by-name *Yerukulavandlu* (*Yerukalavandlu*, *Yerakalavandlu* or *Yerikalavandlu*) offers some difficulties. Scholars like C P Brown and H H Wilson are inclined to take *yeru* in the meaning of *eria*, red, but there does not seem sufficient ground for this derivation. It is true, and I have elsewhere alluded to the fact, that Scythian tribes use occasionally terms signifying color, in order to represent political positions, black, *e g*, indicating, under these circumstances, dependence and servitude, and white liberty and sovereignty. I have not observed, however, this

throne of turf putting rice on the heads of the young people and uttering some mystic words a pig is then killed the flesh is cooked and eaten and ample as their experience must be of the qualities of every kind of flesh, they are unanimous in declaring that pork is superior to all. They then jump about beat their bellmetal vessels and the whole concludes by the whole party male and female getting drunk. One of their customs is very peculiar. On the occasion of a birth the husband is looked on as the subject of compassion and is carefully tended by the neighbours as if he and not the wife had been the sufferer. Like all vagabonds they are regarded with suspicion and with some reason as they affect to possess a divining rod in the shape of the frond of the wild date by which they may discover on the outside of the house where property is placed within. Although despised as a carrion eating caste the ryots do not hesitate in cases of sickness to consult them. Then the divining rod is produced a Yarkalwar woman holding one end while the other is given to the person seeking advice a long string of words is rattled over the result of the disease foretold and the particular shrine is indicated where an offering is to be placed or the offended Sakti named whose wrath is to be appeased by sacrifice. They speak a corrupt Tamil.

Compare also a Brief Sketch of the Yerukala Language as spoken in Rajahmundry in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science* 1879 pp 93-102. Messrs A. G. Solrahmanyam Iyer M.A. and P. Brinivasa Rao Pantulu B.A. asked under the direction of Rev. Mr J. Cain a Yeruka a series of questions and drew up the paper. Mr Cain published afterwards a similar but shorter paper in the *Indian Antiquary* vol IX (1880) pp 210-212. The brief sketch contains among others the following statements: 'The Yerukulas do not seem to have any distinctive tribal or national name. In conversation with each other they call themselves 'Kuluvuru' evidently from the Sanskrit *kula* merely signifying 'our people' while to strangers they speak of themselves as *Yerukalavaru* a name most probably given them by their Telugu neighbours (Telugu జరుగు) in allusion to their supposed skill in palmistry which they practise as a means of livelihood. The Yerukula in question was not able to say when his people settled in Rajahmundry. He only knew that a long time ago they came from the west. Their customs are generally of a very simple character. They burn their

custom among the Gauda-Dravidian tribes of India, though the term *erra*, red, is occasionally used in names, *e g*, in that of the *Erra Gollalu* ⁹³

There is also no reason for connecting the two initial syllables *Yera* of *Yerakalavāṇḍlu* with the Yeravas of Kurg. These are a distinct tribe and do not belong to the Kuravas, of whom the Kurus or Yerukulavāṇḍlu are a branch. The name *Yerava* is in reality only another form of *Parava* ⁹⁴

A similar remark must be made as to the propriety of deriving the name of the Kuris from the Telugu words

dead with little ceremony. There appears to be little doubt that the language belongs to the Dravidian family. The following collection of words and phrases seems to show conclusively that of these languages it bears the closest affinity to Tamil although possessing words, allied to Telugu and Canarese ⁹⁵

⁹³ See my monograph *Der Presbyter Johannes in Sage und Geschichte* p 121, note 1. "Die mongolischen Völkerschaften pflegen nämlich, wie bekannt, dem eigenthümlichen Stammesnamen eine Farbe, wie schwarz, weiss etc., voranzusetzen und hierdurch die politische Lage der Hords, ob sie unabhängig oder abhängig sei, anzudeuten."

⁹⁴ See "Ethnographical Compendium on the Castes and Tribes in the Province of Coorg," by the Rev G Richter, pp 9, 10. "Of the hill tribes the *Yeravas* stand lowest and seem to have been in remote ages in a servile relation to the *Delta Kurumbas*. They are immigrants from Wynad, where the same class of *Yeravas* is said to be found. Their language is related to that of the *Delta Kurumbas* and understood by the Coorgs. The *Yeravas* bury their dead with their clothes on lying flat the head eastward, but according to the statement of an intelligent *Yerava* mautry, who was also the headman of his gang, the women are buried in a sitting posture in a hole scooped out sideways from what would have been an ordinary grave, so that the earth over head does not touch her."

Read also *Wynad and Coorg*, by Lewis Rice, in vol. I, p 351. "*Yerava*. These are only found in Mysore District, in the taluks forming the southern frontier, they are said to have originally belonged to Wynad, where they were held in slavery by the Nairs. They resemble the African in features, having thick lips and compressed noses. They speak a language of their own." In vol. II, p. 94. "Yerra Ganga and Challava Ganga, two rivers of the Yerava tribe," to this the note is added. "A wandering tribe identical with or closely related to the Korachars. They are known in Coorg as *Yeravas*." And in vol. III, on pp 214, 215. "*Yeravas* also known as Panjara *Yeravas*, 5,608 males, and 4,903 females. From the description given of the *Yeravas*, it is probable they would have been more correctly classed with *Holeyas* among the outcastes. They are said to be originally from Wynad, where, like the *Holeyas* in Coorg they were held in slavery by the Nairs. They are met with almost entirely in Higganad and Yedenahad

erike, *eruka* or *erulu* The Telugu terms *erike* or *erula* knowledge in the sense of astrology or of palmistry, and *eruku* hunter do not offer an explanation of the tribal name *Kuru*. It is highly probable that the name and the occupation of the fortune telling Kuravandlu or Kulavandlu induced the Telugu people to call this tribe Yerukulavandlu Yerakalavandlu or Yerikelavandlu including in these terms both their tribal name and their profession and that this nickname once substituted for the real tribal surname, supplanted the latter in course of time. I prefer this explanation to the conjecture suggested by Mr H E Stokes in his interesting account of these people. Taking *Eruku* as a Telugu designation of this race, he adds to it their tribal name by dropping the last vowel of the first part of the compound, so that the word becomes *Yerukalavandlu*. Peculiarly enough the term *Erakukula* occurs in reality as quoted in the note below, but apparently in the meaning of hunter. No race takes as a rule its name from a foreign language and Telugu is a strange dialect to the Kurus, whose real idiom is rather akin to Tamil. In this language the expression Yerukalavas is ignored and this tribe is called simply by the term *Koravar* ²⁵

taluks. They speak a language of their own a dialect of Malayalam and live with the Coorgs but always in separate huts in or near jungle. They are much sought after as labourers.

It is evident from the above that Mr Rice's statements contradict each other. If *Yerra Ganga* and *Challava Ganga* were Kuravandlu or Yerukulavandlu they could according to my opinion not have been Yeravar. —Moreover Mr Rice calls them men of the Yerralu tribe and the Yeravar are not as I believe known as Yerralu. Mr Rice was induced to this identification by Mr Stokes' remarks to which he refers. In this case it appears very doubtful whether *yerra* in *Yerra Ganga* is a tribal distinction at all: it seems rather to be a personal proper name.

²⁵ See the *Telugu and English Dictionary* by Charles Philip Brown p. 126.

కొర or కొర knowledge acquaintance fortune telling కొరెండు or కొరెండు a female gypsy a witch కొరెండు a fortune-teller కొరెండు గండు gypsies. See కొరెండు కొర mountaineer a savage కొరెండు to tell fortunes కొరెండు అండు Belonging to gypsies or to hillpeople కొర

They resemble in their customs the aboriginal tribes of the jungles, revere Gonds deities, and avoid all intercourse with Brahmans. With the Kurumbas they have in common the peculiar habit that all males are clean shaved when a death takes place among their connections. Their features have a thorough Turanian aspect, their color is darkish, their noses are broad and their lips rather thick. They assert, and their neighbours all round support them in their claim, that they are the survivors of the Kauravas who, after the battle of Kuruksetra fled to the south and took refuge in the hill tracts of Central India.⁹⁷

ON THE KUNNUVAS AND KUNAVĀRIS

Dr Shortt mentions, on p 85 in the fifth part of his "Hill Ranges of Southern India," the "*Manadies, Coonoovars*

⁹⁷ Read Colonel Dalton's *Ethnology of India* pp 136-138. In a paper entitled 'Notes of a Tour in the Tributary Mahals' published in the *Journal, Asiatic Society Bengal* I introduced them as a dark coarse featured broad nosed wide mouthed and thick lipped race and it was natural to conclude from this that they were one of the aboriginal tribes. They are decidedly ugly but are taller and better set up than most of the people described in this chapter. The Kauras form a considerable proportion of the population of Jashpur Udaipur Surguja Korea Chend Bhakar and Korha of Chhattisgarh and though they are much scattered and the various divisions of the tribe hold little communication with each other they all tenaciously cling to one tradition of their origin that they are the descendants of the survivors of the sons of Kuru called Kauravas in Purans who when defeated by the Pandavas at the great battle of Kurukshetra and driven from Hastinapur took refuge in the hill country of Central India. They not only relate this of themselves but it is firmly believed by the people of all castes of Hindus their neighbours who notwithstanding their dark complexions and general resemblance to the offspring of Nishada and some anti Hindu practices do not scruple to regard them as brethren. I was informed that the Kauras were divided into four tribes—(1) the *Dadh Kauras* (2) *Pa lera* (3) *Rettiah Kauras*. The Kauras of Udaipur described by me in the paper above quoted belong to this class. They rear and eat fowls and have no veneration for Brahmans. The village barber is their priest and officiates as such at marriages and other ceremonies. At births marriages and deaths the males affected by the casualty and all connected with them of the same sex are clean shaven all round. Some villages maintain, besides a Byga priest or exorcist for the Dryads, Naiads and witches. The Pakera Kauras therefore who are I think the most numerous cannot be regarded as Hindu in faith. (4) the *Cherica Kauras*. The Dadh Kauras alone preserve the true blood of the Kuru race. They have none of them in the tracts mentioned attained

(Mountaineers), or *Korarurs*” among the tribes of the Palani Mountains. Ho contends that “the Manadies or Coonoovars were the chief landed proprietors, possessing large herds of cattle, and, when compared with the other tribes, seem to be in easy circumstances.” According to Mr. Nelson (Part II, p. 34): “The *Kunnurans*, or as they are also called “Kunnuva Vellālans, perhaps from the word *Kunru* a “hillock, are supposed to be a caste of lowland cultivators who “came up from the Coimbatore plains some three or four “centuries ago and settled upon the Palani mountains as “has been shown.” Whether the *Kunnurans* were originally Dravidian Vellālas who adopted the surname Kunnuva as a distinguishing clan-title, or whether the name Vel-

to the dignity of landlord either as zamindar, or jagirdar. I am told, however, that the Zamindar of Korba in Chattisgarh is a Kaur. All this makes me inclined to separate them from the aboriginal tribes of Central India, and to think that there is some foundation for their tradition; but, as I cannot efface their Turanian traits, and from all I have seen of them must regard those traits as the predominating and original characteristics of the tribe, I find myself in the dilemma of having to come forward as the propounder of a new theory, and, in opposition to the Mahabharat, to suggest that the war of the Pandavas and Kauravas was not a family quarrel but struggle for supremacy between an Aryan and Turanian nation!” Compare also the Rev. M. A. Sherring’s *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, vol. II, p. 155: “The Kauras are usually regarded as aborigines, although claiming to have been originally connected with the Tuar tribe of Rajpoots in the North-Western Provinces. Nevertheless, their customs are not like those of Rajpoots, but like the aboriginal tribes of jungles. They worship Doolar Deo and Boorha Deo, Gond deities, and, as a class, avoid intercourse with Brahmans. Their marriage ceremonies are performed in the presence of the elders of the village, and they bury their dead. The Kauras are good and industrious cultivators.” The Kauras are also mentioned in Mr. N. Ball’s *Jungle Life in India*, pp. 296, 300, 322.

Compare with the above Justice Campbell’s *Ethnology of India*, p. 40: “In this region of India, it only remains to mention one more Aboriginal tribe, called Kauras, found in the extreme west of the Chota-Nagpore Agency about Koras, Oodeypore, and the adjoining parts of the territory of Nagpore proper, the Pergunnah of Korba of Chattisgarh. They are described as a very industrious, thriving people, considerably advanced in civilisation. They now affect Hindu traditions, pretend to be descended from the defeated remnants of the Kooros who fought the Pandavas, worship Siva and speak Hindee, but in appearance they are ultra-aboriginal, very black, with broad noses, and thick lips, and eat fowls, &c., bury most of their dead, and condemn Brahmans: so that their Hindooism is scarcely skin-deep.”

lāla was given them as landed proprietors, because the land-owners of the plains were so called, it is impossible to decide now. It is, however, an interesting coincidence that the Kunnugas who inhabit the Palani hills are called and call themselves *Mannadi*. This compound is formed of *man*, man, a contraction of *malai*, mountain, and *nadu*, country. *Mannadu* signifies thus mountain-country, and *mannadi*, mountaineer, as *Malayalam* denotes the country, and *Malai-yali*, the inhabitant of Malabar.⁹⁸

Besides *malai* another word *man* occurs in the sense of mountain. *Man* in Tamil signifies not only earth, but also mountain.⁹⁹ In the former sense it is identical with the Telugu *mannu*, and in the latter with *mannemu* or *manyamu*. *Mannedora* and *manyadu* denote a highland chieftain, and *manyadu* is a title of some Velama Rajas, while the hill-people are called *Mannerāru*. If the *Mons* of Pegu are called by the Burmese *Talaings*, who according to Sir Alexander Cunningham "must have emigrated from Telingana," the conjecture of connecting the term *Mon* with the Telugu *Mannemu* and the Tamil *Man* appears permissible.

Considering that *Mankulattar*, *Gangakulattār* and *Indrakulattar* are the three principal divisions of the Vellālas, it seems now doubtful whether the term *man* in *Mankulattār* should be explained as meaning earth or mountain.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ See Dr John Shortt's *Hill Ranges* Part V, pp 85-89. On p 85 we read "When a *Manady* marries the whole tribe is represented on the occasion and to avoid unnecessary expense marriages are generally put off until two three or more can be celebrated at once. (On p 86) The young man advances and ties the marriage string with the *Thalee* or symbol around the bride's neck to complete the ceremony, a *Polar* is called upon to announce a blessing on the new married couple." Read also *ibidem* Part VI, pp 42-46 on pp 42-43 "The inhabitants of these High Ranges are *Mudavars* and the mixed population of the villages in Unjensad known as *Kunuvras* *Munnadies*, and others may be considered inhabitants." Compare Mr J H Nelson's *Manual of the Madura Country* Part II, pp 33-36.

⁹⁹ See Dr Winslow's *Tamil and English Dictionary*, p 841 *man*, "The earth 3 Hill, mountain."

¹⁰⁰ See p 34, n 29 on the term *Mannepucandlu* highlanders being used to designate the Telugu Parahs or *Mālaia* and p 100, n 100, on the terms *Vellāla* and *Velama*. The Mohammedan rulers in India conferred

These remarks have been made with a view to introduce here the inhabitants of the Knnāwar district, which is situated in the Himalayan mountain range. The people of this country are generally known as Knnets or Kanets, but call themselves *Mon*. Sir Alexander Cunningham remarks: "With respect to the name of *Mon*, which is given to the Kunets or Khasas by the Tibetans, it does not appear to be a Tibetan word, as it is used by the Kunets themselves to designate the ancient possessors of the hills, whom they acknowledge to have been their own ancestors." On very slight, and, as I think, on very suspicious linguistic evidence does General Sir Alexander Cunningham connect the Mons of Kunāwar with the Kolarian Mundas, and thus with the Kolarian population of India. I, on the other hand, regard these Kunawari Mons together with the Kulindas as a branch of the Gaudian tribe of the Gauda-Dravidian race, and even Sir Alexander Cunningham cannot deny the possibility of "a Gondish affinity for the Kunets." I have a very high respect for the earnest, indefatigable, and ingenious researches of the late chief of the Archaeological Survey of India, but no single individual, however gifted, can write so much without occasionally committing errors, and if I disagree at times with General Sir Alexander Cunningham's statements and conclusions, I must acknowledge at the same time the great obligations I owe to him in common with all who consult his excellent writings.¹⁰¹

occasionally the title *Manyā Sultan* on Velama chiefs and other princes *Manyā* in this sense stands for Manyadora, and has nothing in common with the Sanskrit word *Manyā* from *man*, to consider

¹⁰¹ See Sir Alexander Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. XIV, pp 125-135, more especially p 127. "All the ancient remains within the present area of Kunet occupation are assigned to a people who are variously called Mowas, or Mons, or Motans, and all agree that they were the Kunets themselves. At Dwāra Hāth there are numbers of monuments like tombs built of large flat tiles, which the people attribute to the *Mowas* or *Monas*. These I take to be the monuments of the ancient Kunindas or Kunets before they were driven from Dwāra Hāth to Joshumath (P 128). In Dhām and Bhāgal and in all the districts along the Satley there are numerous

If the Kunets or Kunawaris are, as I believe, of Gaudian origin, the circumstance of their being called *Mon*, mountaineer, gains in importance; for this name can then be derived from a Gauda-Dravidian word. I feel inclined to derive the name of the inhabitants of Kunawar, *i.e.*, of the ancient Kulundas and the modern Kunets, from the root *ku*, mountain. The etymology of the Madura term *Kunnara* from *Kunnu*, mountain, is evident, and is confirmed by the meanings of the other two names of this tribe, *i.e.*, *Koralar* and *Mannadikal*. Yet, it is doubtful, whether *Kunnara* is an original name or was afterwards adopted.

One of the peculiar features of the social habits of the Kunets is their strict adherence to the old Gauda-Dravidian custom of polyandry. Polyandry, it is true, does not actually prevail among the Southern Kunnaras, but a woman can take in succession as many husbands as she likes, though she is allowed only one at a time.

remains of old stone buildings, many of them foundations of squared stones, all of which are attributed to the Maowis or Mons, the former rulers of the country. I think it therefore very probable that the *Mons* of the Cis-Himalaya may be connected with the *Mundas* of Eastern India, who are certainly the *Mondes* of Piny, as well as with the *Mons* of Pegu. As these last are called *Talaings* by the Burmese, it would seem that they must have emigrated from Telungana, I would also suggest that the true name of Mongur was most probably *Monaguri*, and that the country of the *Mundas* or *Mondes* once extended northward as far as the Ganges at Mongur." See Cooma de Korosi, Geographical Notice of Tibet in *Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal*, vol. I, p. 122. "The hill people of India who dwell next to the Tibetans are called by them by the general name of *Mon*, their country *Mon Yul*, a man *Mon-pa* or simply *Mon*, and a woman *Mon-mo*" (Pp. 131-132). The language of the Kunets, like that of the Khas, just described by Mr. Hodgson, is a corrupt dialect of Hindi, but it still retains several traces of a non-Aryan language. Thus the word *ti*, for water of stream, is found all over the Kunet area. The word is not Tibetan, but occurs in the *Milchong* dialect of Lower Kumaon, which is clearly connected with the *Mon* people of the *Mon* area.

No doubt these two tribes of the North and the South resemble each other strangely in their names and in their customs, but I am far from trying to force on them for these reasons any closer relationship than that which has from the first existed between them, namely that both of them formed part of the large Gauda-Dravidian race. Both are here mentioned together, as they afford an interesting example of similar sounding and nearly identical names being borne by two distinct, distant, and yet originally kindred tribes ¹⁰²

CHAPTER XII.

ON THE KURUBAS OR KURUMBAS

Remarks about the name Kurumba

The Kurubas or Knrumbas who form the subject of this enquiry represent the most important of all those tribes that have been already mentioned in this chapter, owing to the influential part they have played in the History of India, and the position they still occupy among the people of this country. However separated from each other and scattered

Kunets and other mixed races of North-West India." The linguistic evidence so far as the Kunets are concerned is very weak, in fact *nil*. Nothing proves that the *ti* of *Ravati*, the Sanskrit *Aravati* denotes river, and that a word like *da*, water, should in one and the same language be used in the same connection both at the beginning and the end of compounds as in *Bāhu-da*, *Narma-dā*, *Da-Muda*, and *Da-San*, is against linguistic rules. About the Kolarian terms for water, *dā*, *doi*, *di*, *dal*, *ti* and *tu*, compare Hi-lop's *Papers*, p. 27.

¹⁰² Read Mr J. H. Nelson's *Monnal of Madura* Part II, pp 34 35 "In this way a woman may legally marry any number of men in succession, though she may not have two husbands at one and the same time. She may however bestow favors on paramours without hindrance, provided they be of equal caste with her. On the other hand a man may indulge in polygamy to any extent he pleases, and the wealthier Kunnuvans keep several wives as servants particularly for agricultural purposes. Among the Western Kunnuvans a very curious custom is said to prevail. When an estate is likely to descend to a female on default of male issue, she is forbidden to marry an adult, but goes through the ceremony of marriage with some young male child, or in some cases with a portion of her father's dwelling house, on the understanding that she shall be at liberty to amuse herself with any man of

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remains of old stone buildings many of the foundations of squared all of which are attributed to the Maoris or Mons the former rulers of the country. I think it therefore very probable that the *Mons* of the Himalaya may be connected with the *Mons* of Eastern India which certainly the *Mondes* of China as well as with the *Mons* of Pegu. As last are called *Talai* by the Burmese it would seem that they must have emigrated from Telingana. I would also suggest that the true name of Mongir was most probably *Mongiri* and that the country of the *Munda* *Mondes* once extended northward as far as the Ganges at Mongir. See C. de Korosi. Geographical Notice of Tibet in *Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal* vol I p 122. 'The hill people of India who dwell next to the Tibetans are called by them by the general name of *Mons* the country *Mons* is a man *Mo* or simply *Mo* and a woman *Mo* : : e' (p 131 132) The language of the Kunets like that of the Khas just described by Mr Hodgson is a corrupt dialect of Hindi but it still retains several traces of a non-Aryan language. Thus the word *ti* for water of stream is found all over the Kunet area. The word is not Tibetan but occurs in the Mithang dialect of Lower Kumaon. It is clearly connected with the *ti* and *ti* of the I Koch and Moch tribes and with the *da* of the aboriginal Kolsish dialects of Eastern and Central India. The *Munda* Santhal Ho Kuri and Saur or Savara. Thus within the Kunet area are the following large streams (1) Rawa *ti* or Ravi River (?) Nyungti or Bias River (P 133) Several of the great rivers of Northern India have the Kolsish affix *da* as Pad *da* Narma *da* Dala *da* etc. Da *Munda* Da *San* Altogether I think the evidence of language so far as it does points decidedly to a Kolsish rather than to a Gaudish affinity for the

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among the Dravidian clans with whom they have dwelt, and however distant from one another they still live, there is hardly a province in the whole of Bharatavarsa which cannot produce, if not some living remnants of this race, at least some remains of past times which prove their presence.

Indeed, the Kurumbas must be regarded as very old inhabitants of this land, who can contest with their Dravidian kinsmen the priority of occupation of the Indian soil. The two rival tribes have in reality become so intermixed with each other, that according to the temporary superiority of the one or the other, the same district is at different times known as Vala(va)nadu and Kurumbanādu, while in some instances, when both tribes live more apart from each other, we find a Vallavanādu bordering on a Kurumbanādu.

In some parts of this country the Kurumbas are even now considered as the oldest existing remnant of the earliest stratum of the population. Some tracts and places of the Indian realm still bear their name, while some localities had their names changed after the collapse of the Kurumba supremacy. The well-known Tondamandalam, of which Kañcipuram was once the capital is said to have been previously called Kurumbabhūmi or Kurumbanādu. Kurumbaranadu forms still an integral portion of Malabar, and the forest-clad mountainous district of the Nilagiri has preserved in many localities the ancient name of the Kurumbas. It may not be inappropriate to mention here that Valanadu

her caste, to whom she may take a fancy and her issue, so begotten, inherits the property, which is thus retained in the woman's family. Numerous disputes originate in this singular custom, and Madura Collectors have sometimes been puzzled not a little by evidence adduced to show that a child of three or four years was the son or daughter of a child of ten or twelve. The religion of the Kunnavans appear to be the *Sana*, but they worship their mountain god Valapan with far more devotedness than any other."

Compare also Sir W. W. Hunter's *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol V, pp 482-483. "In physique, the Kunawāns are tall, athletic, well-made, and dark-skinned, while their character stands high for hospitality, truthfulness and honesty. Polyandry everywhere exists in its fullest form."

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Before entering further on the discussion concerning the ethnology and history of the Kurumhas, I feel it incumbent on me to make a few linguistic remarks, which apply to the whole chapter. I have already derived their name from *Kuru*, an enlarged form of *ko* (*ku*), mountain. A Kuruba or Kurumba signifies thus a mountaineer.

The terms Kuruha and Kurumba are originally identical, though the one form is in different places employed for the other, and has thus occasionally assumed a special local meaning. I have previously proved that even the wandering Kōravas are direct offshoots from the same stem, in spite of their being now distinguished from the hulk of the Kurubas or Kurumhas by occupation and caste. Mr H B. Grigg appears to contradict himself when, while speaking of the Kurumhas, he says that "in the low country they are called Kuruhas or Cūruhāru, and are divided into numerous families, such as the 'Āné' or Elephant, Nāya or Dog, 'Mālē or Hill Kurumhas." Such a distinction between Mountain-Kurumhas and Plain-Kuruhas cannot be established. The Rev. G. Richter will find it difficult to prove that the Kurubas of Mysore are only called so as shepherds, and that no connection exists between these Kuruhas and the Kurumbas. Mr. Lewis Rice calls the wild tribes as well as the shepherds *Kurubas*, but seems to overlook the fact that both terms are identical and refer only to the ethnological distinction. Instead of *Kuruba* he uses also occasionally *Kurumba*. In the Tamil language all the Kurumbas are

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mountaineers, when they meet their taller but less clever neighbours of the plains, display often a spiteful distrust, use poisonous arrows and frighten them by their mysterious proceedings into abject superstition. This is the reason why the Kurumbas of the Nilagiri Hills are so shunned; and why dwarfs in general are treated with suspicion, as is shown by the well-known native proverb: "One may trust a thief, but not a dwarf."

When pointing out the different meanings of the word *palli*, I specially drew attention to the fact that it signified originally a Dravidian village or town, and remarkably enough the Gaudian Kurumbas also possess similar terms, which must have been at first applied to their villages. I speak of *kuricci*, a village in mountainous regions, and *kurumbu*, a village situated in desert tracts.

Moreover to the Dravidian Pallavan, as chief of the Palla people, corresponds the Gaudian *Kuruppu*, the Kurumba headman in the Kurumharanadu of Malabar.

ON THE SUB-DIVISIONS AMONG THE KURUMBAS.

The Kurumbas represent a very numerous community, who are subdivided into many classes. Most of these subdivisions indicate either the place of their habitation, or the pursuit and profession they follow to gain their livelihood. In some cases these professional terms have become tribal names. In the various provinces of the Indian Empire and in the different vernaculars of this country distinct names are given to the several subdivisions, so that the same class is called differently in sundry districts, the Tamil and Kannarese descriptions differ thus in their nomenclature.

rear dogs, hunt jackals, iguanas, and wild animals, and live in the neighbourhood of towns and villages. The women beg, and are said to be great thieves."

In the last Census Report the Gollas are divided into Erra, Gauda, Kadu, Kannada, Karna, Kurela, Masha, Poja, Pon, Peddeti and Uru Gollas, Kurumbas and Yadavulu. They are classed as Dravidians, and number 1,259,766 souls.

The Kurumbas are as jealous about their social position as the other Hindus.¹⁰³ They have fought and are still fighting when the opportunity occurs with great pertinacity against any real or imaginary encroachments on their rights of precedence. Very serious disturbances used to take place at the great annual festival held about February in the Śiva shrine at *Mudukuturai* in the Kollegal Taluk, where about 50,000 people assemble on the banks of the Kāvēri, and

¹⁰³ About the ensigns compare pp 63, 64, n 59

See Mackenzie Collection, No 9, CM 763, XII, No 11, CM 760, No 14, CM 768, VIII, No 20, CM 774, X, and Dr Francis Buchanan's *Journey from Madras through the Countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar*, vol I, pp 274-276, 312, 379-391, 389, vol II, pp 3, 40, 155, 156, 433-435. In vol I, pp 274-276 he says "The *Curubaru* are an original caste of *Karnāṭa*, and, wherever they are settled, retain their language. They are divided into two tribes, that have no communion, and which are called *Handy Curubaru*, and *Curubaru* proper. The last again are divided into a number of families, such as the *Ang*, or elephant *Curubaru*, the *Hal*, or Milk *Curubaru*, the *Colli*, or fire C, the *Nelly C*, the *Sāmantā C*, the *Coti C*, the *Asil C*, and the *Murhindina Curubaru*. These families are like the *Qāstrams* of the Brāhmins, it being considered as incestuous for two persons of the same family to intermarry. The proper *Curubaru* have hereditary chiefs, who are called *Gautas*, whether they be headmen of villages or not, and possess the usual jurisdiction. Some of them can read scrompts, but they have no book. The proper duty of the caste is that of shepherds, and of blanket-weavers, and in general they have no other dress than a blanket. A few of those who are rich have betaken themselves to the luxury of wearing cotton cloth next their skin, for all castes and ranks in this country wear the blanket as an outer garment. The dress of the women resembles that of the females of the kingdom of *Ara*. The blanket is put behind the back, and the two upper corners, being brought forward under the arms, are crossed over the bosom, and secured by the one being tacked under the other. As their blanket is larger than the cloth used by the women of *Ara*, the dress is more decent. The *Curubaru* were, besides, *Candachara*, or militia, cultivators, as farmers, as servants, and as gardeners, *Attatana*, or the armed men who serve the *Amillars*, *Anchay*, or post messengers, and porters. They are allowed to eat animal food, but in most places are not permitted to drink spirituous liquors. In other places this strictness is not required, and almost everywhere they intoxicate themselves with palm-wine. The women are very industrious, and perform every kind of work except digging and ploughing. Even after the age of puberty they continue marriageable, and can only be divorced for adultery. In this caste the custom of *Cutiga*, or concubinage, prevails, that is, all adulteresses who are turned away by their husbands, and have not gone astray with a strange man, and all girls and widows, to whom a life of celibacy is disagreeable, may live with any man of the caste who chooses to keep them. They are looked down upon by their more virtuous sisters, but

Government had to interfere and to arrange that the Kurumbas and the Gangadikaras should attend the fair on different days, so as to prevent their meeting each other. On another occasion the Kurumbas collected and spent about 10,000 rupees to obtain from the records in Kañcipuram documentary evidence in confirmation of their claims. One of the disputes between the Kurumbas and the Gangadikaras concerns the question who are the Indrasudras and who the

still they are admitted into company, and are not out-caste. Among the *Curubas*, the children of concubines do not form a separate caste but are allowed to marry with those of a pure breed. By a connection with any man except a *Curuba*, a woman becomes an entire out-caste. The men take several wives and if they be good workers do not always divorce them for adultery but as they thus incur some disgrace, they must appease the anger of their kindred by giving them an entertainment and the *Guru* generally interposes his authority to prevent a separation. The *Curubas* believe that those men who die without having been married become *Virilas* to whose images at a great annual feast, which is celebrated on purpose offerings of red cloth, jagory rice &c., are made. If this feast be omitted the *Virilas* become enraged occasion sickness, kill the sheep alarm the people by horrid dreams and, when they walk out at night strike them on the back. They are only to be appeased by the celebration of the proper feast. The peculiar god of the caste is *Bir'-uppa* or father *Biray* one of the names of *Siva* and the image is in shape of the *Linga*, but no other person prays to *Siva* under his name nor offers sacrifices to that god, which is the mode by which the *Curubas* worship *Bir'-uppa*. The priests who officiate in the temples of this deity are *Curubas*. Their office is hereditary, and they do not intermarry with the daughters of laymen. In some districts the *Curubas* worship another god peculiar, I believe to themselves. He is called *Battay Devuru* and is a destructive spirit. They offer sacrifices to him in woods by the sides of rivulets or ponds. The carcasses of the animals killed before the image are given to the barber and washerman, who eat them. Besides these the *Curubas* offer sacrifices to the *Saktis* and pray to every object of superstition (except *Dharma Raja*) that comes in their way. They are considered too impure to be allowed to wear the *Linga* as their *Guru* does. This person is called a *Wodear* or *Jangana'* but he is married and his office is hereditary. His title is *Ravana Sadasuara* and he originally lived at *Sarur*, which is near *Kalyanapattana*. At his visits he bestows consecrated ashes and receives charity. He has a fixed due on marriages, and sends his agents to collect it. At some of their ceremonies the *Pachayya* attends, and acts as *Purohita*. On page 312 Buchanan says: "The *Curubas* here (in Tumkur) say, that at a temple of *Bhairava* at *Herray Semudra*, which is near *Mercara*, to the north of this place, and where one of their caste acts as *Pujari* the image represents a man sitting on horseback with the *Linga* round his neck, and a drawn sword in his hand, they offer sacrifices to this image and eat the flesh. The family of *Ravana* have now spread all over the country, but *Sarur* is still considered as the proper family

Śukrasūdras; the Kurumbas claiming to be *Indrasūdras* and calling the Gangadikaras *Śukrasūdras*, and *vice versa*. The former expression indicates the issue of married, and the latter that of unmarried women

They carry an enormous white umbrella and a flag with the figure of a bull, and of this umbrella they proudly say that it covers the world. It is therefore known as *Jagajam-pina sattige*.

seat. Their *Guru* has the power of restoring any out-cast to the enjoyment of full communion. They have a book peculiar to the caste called *Jiraga Chapagodu*. It is written in the language of *Kannata*, and gives an account of the tribe. The *Curubaru* buy their wives, a girl of a good family costs from 30 to 40 *fanams*, a girl of the bastard or *Cutiga* breed costs 15 *fanams*, or 10¹." On pp 379-81 he describes the *Kaḍu* and *Beṭṭa Kurumbas*. "The *Cad* *Curubaru* are a rude tribe of *Kannata*, who are exceedingly poor and wretched. In the fields near villages they build miserable low huts, have a few rags only for covering, and the hair of both sexes stands out matted like a mop, and awarime with vermin. Their persons and features are weak and unseemly, and their complexion is very dark. Some of them hire themselves as labouring servants to the farmers, and, like those of other castes, receive monthly wages. Others, in crop season, watch the fields at night, to keep off the elephants and wild hogs. Their manner of driving away the elephant is by running against him with a burning torch made of bamboos. The *Curubaru* have no means of killing so large an animal. The wild hogs are driven out of the fields by slings. These poor people frequently suffer from tigers, against which their wretched huts are a poor defence, and, when this wild beast is urged by hunger, he is regardless of their burning torches. The *Curubaru* have dogs, with which they catch deer, antelopes and hares, and they have the art of taking in snares peacocks, and other esculent birds. They have no hereditary chiefs, but assemble occasionally to settle the business of their caste. They confine their marriages to their own tribe. The *Gauda*, or chief man of the village, presides at this ceremony, which consists of a feast. During this the bridegroom espouses his mistress, by tying a string of beads around her neck. The men are allowed to take several wives and both girls after the age of puberty, and widows are permitted to marry. In case of adultery, the husband flogs his wife severely, and if he be able, beats her paramour. If he be not able, he applies to the *Gauda*, who does it for him. The adulteress has then her choice of following either of the men as her husband. They can eat everything except beef, and have no objection to the animal having died a natural death. They do not drink spirituous liquors. None of them take the vow of *Dāsī*, nor attempt to read. Some of them burn, and others bury the dead. They believe that good men, after death, will become benevolent *Dāsīs*, and bad men destructive *Dāsīs*. The spirits of the dead are believed to appear in dreams to their old people and to direct them to make offerings of fruits to a female deity, named *Beṭṭada Chinnama*, that is, the little mother of the hill. Unless these offerings are made, this goddess occasions sickness,

I have been informed that there exist as many as 23 Kurumba subdivisions

The Mackenzie Manuscripts contain in this respect valuable information about the Tamil Kurumbas, while Dr. Francis Buchanan supplies interesting accounts of the Kanarese Kurumbas. Among such distinctions may be mentioned the *Malar* or *Betta Kurumbas*, who are confined to the mountains, and the *Kadu Kurumbas*, who dwell in forests. It is probable that the *Mullu Kurumbas*, who are

but she is never supposed to do her votaries any good. She is not, however, appeased by bloody sacrifices. There is a temple dedicated to her near *Nuninogodu*, but there is no occasion for the offering being made at that place. There is also in this neighbourhood (of *Hegodu Devana Cotay*) another rude tribe of *Curubaru*, called *Betta*, or *Malaja*, both words signifying mountain, the one in the Kannata, and the other in the Tamil language. They are not so wretched nor ill-looking as the *Cad' Curubaru*, but are of diminutive stature. They live in poor huts near the villages, and, the chief employment of the men is the cutting of timber, and making of baskets.

The *Betta Curubaru* have an hereditary chief called *Iyyamda*, who lives at *Praya-pattana*. In this tribe, the concubines or *Cutigas*, are women that prefer another man to their husband, or widows who do not wish to relinquish carnal enjoyment. Their children are not considered as illegitimate.

"Girls are not considered as marriageable until after the age of puberty, custom that by the higher orders is considered as a beastly depravity. The men may take several wives, but never marry a woman of the same family with themselves in the male line. The *Betta Curubaru* never intoxicate themselves, but are permitted to eat every kind of animal food except beef, and they have no objection to carrion. They never take the vow of *Dasera*, and none of them can read. Some of them burn, and others bury their dead. They understand nothing of a future state. The god of the caste is *Ejruppa*, who seems to be the same with *Hannumanta*, the servant of *Rama*, but they never pray to this last mentioned deity although they sometimes address him. To the god of their caste they offer fruit, and a little money, they never sacrifice to the *Saktis*. Their *Guru*, they say, is of the caste *Wotimuru*, and from their description would appear to be of those people called *Katananas*." On p. 359 "*Bhasura Pecaru* is the god of the *Curubas*, and is a malevolent male spirit. The *Pujari*, or priest, is a *Hal Curubaru*, who can neither read nor write." Compare further vol II, pp. 3, 42 433-436. "The *Curubaru* are of two kinds, those properly so called, and those named *Handy* or *Cumly Curubaru*. The *Curubaru* proper, and the *Goalaru*, are sometimes cultivators and possess the largest flocks, but they never make blankets. The *Handy Curubaru* abstain entirely from cultivation, and employ themselves in tending their flocks and manufacturing the wool. The *Handy Curubaru* are a caste living in the *Horar nya kully* and *Chatalat*

found in the Nilagiri Mountains, are so called from *mullu*, thorn, as they live among the jungle; if so, the term is to some extent synonymous with *Kādu Kurumbas*. Some think that the word *mullu* may apply to their arrows, as these sturdy, well-made mountaineers are never seen without their bows and arrows. As regards their neighbours whom the Rev F Metz, otherwise a great authority on this subject, calls *Naya Kurumbas*, and Mr. Grigg *Nāya* or *Dog Kurumbas*, I have ascertained on reliable authority that their name is in reality not *Naya* but *Nāyaka Kurumbas*, and that they are held in respect by the neighbouring tribes. The *Mullu*

districts, and are of Karnāta descent. All those who have settled in that (*Marattah*) country being horsemen, they are called *Handay Kavalas*, a name pronounced *Bawut* by the Mussulmans, and by them frequently applied to every kind of *Curubas*. The deities, whom this caste consider as their peculiar objects of worship, are *Bira Deva* and his sister *Mayasa*. *Bira* is, they say, the same with *Iscara*, and resides in Kailasa. There is only one temple of *Bira*, which is situated on *Curu Betta*, or the sheep hill, on the banks of the Krishna, near the Poonah. There is also only one temple dedicated to *Mayasa*. It is near the Krishna, at a place named *Chinsuli*. Once in ten years, every man of the caste ought to go to these two temples, but a great many do not find leisure for the performance of this duty. These deities do not receive bloody sacrifices, but are worshipped by offerings of fruit and flowers. The priests (*Nayaris*) at both these temples are *Curubaru*, and, as the office is hereditary, they of course marry. Besides the worship of the deities proper to the caste, the *Curubas* offer sacrifices to some of the destructive spirits, such as *Durgawa*, *Jacani*, and *Barama Deva*. The *Curubaru* have no trouble from *Pytachs*, and ordinary *Ritas*, or devils, they believe, are expelled by prayer addressed to the deities of the caste. At *Hujing*, in the *Harepunga* hilly district, resides *Parana Sudhescara*, the *Guru* of this caste. In his description of Malabar, Buchanan speaks in vol. II, pp 156-158 of the *Curumbalam* or *Catalun* in Kurumbatanāda. "Another caste of *Malayala* condemned to slavery, is called in the singular *Catal* or *Curumbal*, and in the plural *Catalun* or *Curumbalam*. They reckon themselves higher than the *Churman*, *Pohan*, or *Parian*. The deity is worshipped by this caste under the name of *Malayadēvan*, or the god of the hill, and is represented by a stone placed on a heap of pebbles. This place of worship is on a hill, named *Turuta Malay* near *Sicapurata*, in *Curumbara Nāda*. To this place the *Catalun* annually go, and offer their prayers, coco nuts, spirituous liquors, and such like, but make no sacrifices, nor have they any kind of priest. They pray chiefly for their own worldly happiness, and for that of their relations. The spirits of good men after death are supposed to have the power of inflicting disease, and are appeased by offerings of distilled and fermented liquors, which the votary drinks after he has called upon the spirit to take such part of them

Kurumbas live particularly on the eastern side of the hills in their middle belts, while the *Naya* or *Nayaka Kurumbas* inhabit generally the lower slopes of this range as well as of the Wynaad. It appears that the latter are identical with those who are elsewhere called *Jenu Kurumbas*, or Honey Kurumbas, because they gather honey for their own use as well as for sale. These *Jenu Kurumbas* are also found in Kurg.

About the Kurumbas of the Nilagiri-Mountain range, we are favoured with various pretty accurate accounts. Among these deserve special mention the writings of the late Rev Ferdinand Metz¹⁰⁶ of the Basel Lutheran Mission, who

as will pacify his resentment. The dead bodies of good men are burned but those of bad men in order to confine their spirits are buried for if they escape they are supposed to occasion great trouble. It is not customary, however to make any offerings to these evil spirits. This caste has no hereditary chiefs but disputes are settled by the elders who never inflict a severer punishment than a mulct of some *Betel leaf*. The tradition here is that *Cheruman Permal* divided the whole of *Malajala* among four families, who were called *Rajds* but whose dominions were afterwards subdivided amongst innumerable petty chiefs and younger branches of the original families. These four families however, always maintained a superiority of rank which they at this day retain. They are the *Colita-nada Rajd*, commonly called *Cherical* the *Jenatra* or *Rajd* of *Trasancore* the *Perum burupa* or *Cochi Rajd* and the *Ernada* or *Tamur*. The dominions of the latter were originally very small. The same story concerning them is told here (*Pgur* or *Esurmalay*) that was related at Calicut. In process of time the *Curumbara* family who seem to have been a branch descended from the *Cochi Rajds* seized on a part of *Coluta nada* which included all the northern parts of *Malayalis*. Among other usurpations this family seized on *E surmalay* of which they were at erwards stript by the ancestors of the three *Wau-namar*. Another *Kshatriya* family called *Colayhutti* (*Cotiote*) who seem to have been descended from a younger sister of the *Curumbara Rajds* seized on another portion of *Coluta nada* lying between *Tellicherry* and the *Ghats*. The *Curumbara Nada Rajds* became extinct in the *Malabar* year 954 (1778-1779) five years after *Hyder* invaded the country.

About the Kurumbas of Southern India consult also Abbé Dubois *Description of the People of India* second edition p. 34ⁿ and the *Manual of Madura* by Mr J. H. Nelson Part II pp. 64-65.

¹⁰⁶ Compare Rev F. Metz *The Tribes inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills* pp. 115-126. 'The Todas divide the Kurumbas into three classes—The Mulla Kurumbas, the Naya Kurumbas, and the Panias. The two latter live in the Wynaad. The Panias are not looked upon as sorcerers as are the other two classes and are chiefly employed as the laborers of the Badagas who

spent the best part of his life in intimate intercourse with the hill tribes, among whom he commanded the highest respect for the genuine kindness he showed to them and the utter unselfishness he displayed towards the amelioration of their position. Very valuable information is also contained in the writings of the late Colonel Ouchterlony, in the *Account of the late Mr J Wilkinson Breeks Commissioner of*

have settled in the Wynnad. Each Badaga district has its own Kurumba priest who comes up at the ploughing season and sows the first handful of grain and at harvest time also before the sickle is put to the crop. And if a standing crop should at any time be attacked by insects he is sent for, and has to go through the ceremony of lowing like a calf which the Badagas believe has the effect of killing the insect. The Mullu and Naya Kurumbas are believed to possess the power of killing men by sorcery and so greatly are they feared that if a Badaga meet a Kurumba in a jungle alone death from sheer terror is not unfrequently the consequence. The cairns and cromlechs found in various parts of the hills were, I think probably the work of the ancestors of the Kurumbas. During the 13 years that I have labored amongst and mixed with the hill tribes I have never found the Todas in any way interested in the cairns whilst the fact of their making no objections to their being opened taken in connect on with the circumstance of the contents frequently consisting of parts of plough shares & chisels and other implements of husbandry showing that the cairns were constructed by an agricultural race which the Todas never were are to me convincing proofs that they are not the work of the Todas of a past generation. The Badagas and Kotas on the other hand are to a certain degree afraid to approach them. I was once on a preaching excursion in a district near the southern boundary of the hills and not very far from the principal Kurumba village called Mullu and after the labors of the day felt a curiosity to open a cairn which happened to be in the neighbourhood. Much to my surprise however the Badaga headmen present would not permit me to do so not on account of any objections they had themselves to make but because as they said it was the residence of the god of the Kurumbas who came up frequently from Mullu in order to worship the god of the 12 forefathers. This is the only occasion on which I have ever known any of the hill tribes venerate a cairn as the depository of the ashes of a deceased ancestor but viewed in connection with what I have already stated I think it is sufficient to justify the supposition that the Kurumbas of old when masters of the tableland may have constructed these remarkable *semeteries* and this consideration is further borne out by the fact that the common tradition among Todas Badagas and Kotas is that they are the graves of a very wicked race of people who though diminutive in stature were at the same time powerful enough to raise the large blocks of granite of which the walls of Hoohaldroog are built and that God drove them from the hills on account of their wickedness—a description which would well apply to the case of the Kurumbas who in addition to being feared and detested are as a race much stunted in the r

the Nilagiris, in the reports of Deputy-Surgeon-General Dr John Shortt, and in the exhaustive and valuable *Manual of the Nilagiri District* compiled by Mr H B Grigg, late Assistant Commissioner of the Nilagiris¹⁰⁷

growth The cromlechs were doubtless the work of the same people as the cairns The Kurumbas call their deity Kurumbattaraya, meaning, Lord or possessor of sheep and to him they now and then sacrifice a goat or a fowl "

¹⁰⁷ Compare Dr Shortt's Article on the Kurumbas in the *Hill Ranges of Southern India*, Part I, pp 47-53 " *Kurumbas*—From குடும்ப (Kurumboo) maschief, the characteristic of a class of savages who are supposed to be the aborigines of Southern India from which the term Kurumba is derived A tribe, who call themselves, and are recognized as Kurumbas, having three subdivisions among them, viz —1 Mulla Kurumba 2 Naya Kurumba 3 Panna Kurumba The *Mulla Kurumbas* chiefly occupy the middle belts of these hills, while the other two divisions are confined to the lower slopes, or are inhabitants of the Wynad jungles, but the tribe generally is recognized as mountaineers The Kurumba tribe are small in stature, and have a squalid and somewhat uncouth appearance from their peculiar physiognomy, wild matted hair, and almost nude bodies They are as a body sickly looking, pot bellied large mouthed, prognathous, with prominent out standing teeth and thick lips—frequently saliva dribbles away from their mouths The men show great agility in climbing and descending hills, trees, &c The women have much the same features as the men only somewhat softened in expression and slightly modified in feature, with a small pug nose, and surly aspect Their villages are termed *Motta* They have no furniture They have no marriage ceremony Those Kurumbas who live on the Hills officiate as priests to the Badags The Badags will do nothing without the presence of a Kurumba so that each district has its own Kurumba priest He is supposed to be well versed in the use of herbs, and prescribes for all ailments, implicit confidence is placed in his skill, and he is remunerated either in money or grain, and sometimes both The Kurumbas also officiate as priests at their marriages and deaths The Kurumbas, as a body, keep the other tribes in great dread of witchcraft, not even excepting the Todas, who look upon the Kurumbas as great adepts in the power and skill of bewitching or destroying men animals or other property The Kurumbas are also employed as musicians by the Toda and Badaga tribes on all ceremonial and festive occasions, they play on the flute and tom-tom very dexterously to the amusement of the Todas and Badags They withstand the endemic diseases of the locality pretty well, and are not subject to fever They hold some crude notions of a superior being, whom they designate under a variety of names, with no distinct idea as to who or what he is The Kurumbas are superstitious, and while they keep all the other tribes on these Hills in awe, they themselves fear the Todas believing that they possess supernatural powers over them They are said to hold in respect, and make offerings at, the different cairns and cromlechs met with on these Hills, and from which it is believed that these cairns and cromlechs are the work of their ancestors Against this, their weak and dwarfed stature is brought

So far as the Kurumbas of Kurg are concerned, we are mainly indebted to the Rev G Richter who wrote an *Ethno-*

forward as an objection as most of these cairns and cromlechs are built of huge stones, such as it is believed the Kurumba tribe could not move in the absence of suitable appliances. Some of the Todas do attribute the cairns and cromlechs to the Kurumbas.

Consult further the late Mr James Wilkinson Breeks' *Account of the Primitive Tribes and Monuments of the Nilagiris*, pp 48-66 "In the Tabulated Census Returns they are entered under the following castes or divisions —Eda Kurumban, Karmadiya Kurumban, Kurumban, Kurumban Okkiliyan, Male Kurumban, Pal Kurumban. They generally, however, say they have no caste, but are divided into *bigas* or families, which do not intermarry. It is difficult to get a complete account of the tribal divisions recognised by them. One man will name you one (his own), another two divisions, another three, and so on. The headman of the village enumerated four,— 1 *Betta Kurumbas* who live on the slopes, and near the Mysore ditch 2 *Kambale Kurumbas*, who make blankets (cambly), and live in the low country, in the Ronguru (Coimbatore) 3 *Ulllu Kurumbas* (he did not know where they lived) 4 *Anda Kurumbas* who like himself, live on the eastern slopes. Pal Kurumbas are also vaguely mentioned sometimes. Some Kurumbas whom I have met with, profess in answer to inquiries to worship Siva, and occasionally women mark their forehead with the Saiva spot. Others, living near Barliar, worship Kuribattraya (lord of many sheep), and the wife of Siva under the name of Musai. They worship also a rough round stone under the name of Hiradēva setting it up either in a cave or in a circle of stones like the so called 'Kurumba Kovil' of the Badagas, which the latter seem to have borrowed from the Kurumbas. They do not consider the stone as a *lingam* although they profess to be Saivites. Dādh Badaga *Grāma*, with its group of villages, keeps a Kurumba priest called *Kāni Kurumba*. The office is hereditary. In April and May, before sowing time, a goat or young male buffalo is supplied by the cultivators, and the Kāni Kurumba is summoned to make the sacrifice. Surrounded by the villagers the officiating priest cuts off the head of the animal, and sprinkles the blood in three directions, east, west and south, and also on a water worn stone, which is considered as a "*lutu* (natural) *lingam*." No words are spoken, but after the sprinkling the Kurumba clasps his hands behind his head, shouting *Do, Do, Do*, three times and bows the head to 'Mother Earth'. The priest gets the head, and the Badagas the body, of the goat, which is taken home and eaten. In the Jakāneri *Grāma* this ceremony is performed at the cromlech, in Tenād, at a rude circle of stone surrounding a water-worn stone for a *lingam*. They call the place the 'Kurumba Kovil' (Kurumba Church). The Kurumbas near Rangaswami's Peak told me that some Kurumbas buried their dead but that they themselves burned theirs and that the nearest relatives next day took some boiled rice in a cloth and a small round stone, and perhaps a bone from the funeral pile, and deposited them for the dead in the *Sārumana* (death house) belonging to the *Motta*. At Barliar they do the same. These *Sārumanas* are small cromlechs of three upright stones and a covering slab, they said they did not now make them, but that they used those made by their forefathers. They knew of no god peculiar to the Kurumbas, nor

According to their rank the first to be considered are the *Anda Kurumbas* who superintend the administration. Next follow the *Kurumba Okkaligas* or agricultural Kurumbas whom we find mentioned in the Nilagiri Census Report. Though the number assigned to them is very insignificant, the circumstance of their being reported at all is highly interesting, for it supplies a link to connect them with a respectable and influential class of people in Mysore, the well-known *Okkaligaru*. *Okkalu*, pronounced *Vokkalu*, signifies in Kanarese 'tenancy,' *okkalatana*, husbandry, and *okkaliga*, a farmer or cultivator. Dr. Buchanan calls this caste, which is very numerous in Mysore, also *Cunabis*. These I shall eventually identify with the *Kumbis*, *Kumbis* (Kurmis) or *Kudumbis*, the agricultural class to which Śivaji, the great Maratha chieftain belonged who with his *Kudumbis* of *Kudumba* or *Kurumba* extraction effected such a change in the political aspect of India, some two hundred years ago. The sentence in the text of Buchanan leaves it doubtful, whether he referred to the *Cunabis* as an ethnological or professional distinction. Not all, perhaps not even the majority of the *Okkaligas* of Mysore are of *Kurumba* origin. With the exception of the abovementioned *Gaṅga-dikāras* and the *Nonaha Okkaligas*, the others appear to have been later settlers in Mysore. Their name implies only an occupation, but it is a remarkable fact that many *Okkaligas*, who do not cultivate the soil are engaged in similar pursuits such as the *Kurumbas* embrace. Both tribes for instance have a predilection for a military life, and, what is more suggestive still, both communities are under the same Gurus, or spiritual superiors, the chief of whom resides at *Kangundi* in

Their dead are buried, the corpse being placed sideways with the head to the west. A widow may be remarried to a relative of the deceased husband, but not to a stranger. Of the *Mysore* and *Nilgiri Kurumbas* it is said that they eat the flesh of the cow, but those in *Coorg* abhor it."

The Rev G Richter is, according to my opinion (see p 217), mistaken in his tribal distinction between the *Kurumbas* and the *Kurubas*

Bara-mahal. The Pujari of the Betta Kurumbas in Kurg is also an Okkaliga. The last Census Report fixes their number at 711,622 souls. The Mysore Okkaligas have some peculiar customs, not the least extraordinary among them being that which prevails among the women of the Morasa Okkaligas, who cut off the ring and little fingers of their right hand, before they celebrate the marriage of their eldest daughter¹⁰⁹

The shepherds are known as *Kurumba Idaiyas*, *Kurumba Gollas*, occasionally also as *Kuri Kurumbas* and even as *Hande Kurumbas*. Others keep pigs, this do the widely-spread *Handi-Kurumbas*, who must not be confounded with the *Hande Kurumbas*, the *Pal* or *Hal Kurumbas* sell milk, the *Kambali Kurumbas* weave and sell woollen blankets, which they themselves wear in a peculiar fashion; and the *Cunnambu Kurumbas* prepare and sell lime. The *Kurumba Vedas* or hunting Kurumbas are well known in the Tamil country,¹¹⁰ while the *Āne Kurumbas* seem to have obtained their name from their cleverness in way-laying and hunting elephants. The *Kalla-Kurumbas* lived not so long ago an easy life as thieves and robbers. Most likely they formed part of the warrior class and took to marauding in times of peace for want of other occupation, and in order to support them-

¹⁰⁹ See Dr Buchanan's *Travels*, vol I, pp 180, 181. "The Raddi are one of the tribes of *Siddra* caste, which being much employed in agriculture are called *Weculigaru* in the language of *Karnata*, and *Cu iabi* in that of the Decany Mussulmans. They are divided into two sects by a difference of religion, one party worshipping *Vishnu*, and the other *Siva* but this does not prevent intermarriages. Those who worship *Siva* are followers of a kind of *Jangamas* but do not wear the *Lings*. The people with whom I conversed seemed to consider them as the same with the *Jangamas* of the *Pancham Banyigas*, but this caste informed me, that they were distinct, and that the Gurus of the *Raddi* were the same with those of the *Curubaru*, whose chief resides at Cangundy in the Bara mahal." Compare Mr L. Rice's *Mysore and Coorg*, vol I, pp 337, 338-340, vol III, pp 208, 209, also the *Ethnological Compendium* of the Rev G Ruchter, p 13, and pp 260-261.

¹¹⁰ See Mackenzie Collection, No 11, C M 765, Sect, new copy, vol III, p 298, where the *Anda*, *Idaiya*, *Kambali*, *Cunnambu* and *Veda-Kurumbas* are mentioned, and also No 14, C M 765, Section VII.

selves. The circumstances, however, are now changed, and the Kallās in Pudukōṭa are no longer the dread of their neighbours.

Among the Kurumbas of the *Mandayam Tālūk* are found the following nine divisions: the *Pal*, *Hande*, *Mullu*, *Kambali*, *Sāda*, *Jacādu*, *Sīmatāra*, *Bestrāra* and *Āḍiyārāra Kurumbas*. These last three designations appear like nick-names, for they are peculiarly enough names of days of the week.

Besides these there are mentioned the *Kurumbas*, whose name Buchanan connects with *kolli*, fire, but whom others call *Kali-Kurubas* or *Kalle-Kurubas* after the Goddess *Kālī*. The *Nelli Kurumbas* (?); the *Asil Kurumbas* (? from *asal*, pure); the *Kōṭi Kurumbas* (? perhaps from *kōṭi*, monkey); the *Sīmantā Kurumbas* (? connected with the Sanskrit word *sīmantā* in the meaning of chief); the *Mūrhindina Kurumbas* (? of three groups), whose name reminds one of the *Mund-padi* and *Ielpadi* sections of the *Betta Kurumbas* in *Kurg*, who belong to three or to seven hamlets, according to Rev. G. Richter's *Compendium*, p. 13. It is very doubtful whether the *Pania Kurumbas*, who inhabit the Nilagiri mountains, and whom Rev. F. Metz counts among the *Kurumbas*, should be regarded as *Kurumbas*. The other *Kurumbas* do not treat them at all like relations; nor do they, and this is a point of importance, inspire the other native tribes with that superstitious fear, which renders the *Mullu* and *Nayaka Kurumbas* so terrible. Their appearance also does not resemble the other *Kurumbas* in their outward name *pania*, from *pani*, work) state of servitude (hence their being *Kurumbas*, would not absolutely militate against their being *Kurumbas*, though these people have generally contrived to maintain a certain amount of freedom, for we were, according to Dr. Buchanan's description, held belong to the *Haryaka Gōtra*, The *Kurumbas* are said

and to the *Rēnuka* or *Rēvana* Sutra According to legendary report the Kurumbas form the offspring of the family of *Unne*, this being a tadbhavam of *Ūrnā*, sheep-wool. Their connection with the sheep is traced to a curse of the celestial huffoon *Bhrngī*, who, being dissatisfied with the *Pramathas*, the attendants of *Śiva*, is said to have cursed and turned them into sheep; saying.

Pramathā Bhrngitāpēna latayō'pyatayo'bharan.

This curse was eventually removed by *Rēnukārādhyā* or *Rēvanasiddha*, an incarnation of a servant of *Śiva*, and the high-priest of the *Lingayats*

. Some of the Kurumba hill-tribes have been reduced by the hard life they lead to a dwarfish and monkey-like appearance, but that this exterior is to a great degree due to these unfavorable circumstances and that it improves under better conditions is exemplified by the following statement of Dr. Shortt: "Whilst the appearance of this tribe is so uncouth and forbidding in their own forest glens, they are open to wonderful improvement by regular work, exercise, and food; of this ample evidence is to be seen at the Government Chinchona Plantations at Neddiwuttum, where a gang of Kurumbas, comprising some twenty individuals, are employed as laborers, receiving their wages in grain for the most part. They appear to give satisfaction to their employers, and in their general appearance they cannot be recognized from other natives, except perhaps by that peculiar physiognomy characteristic to the tribe and their somewhat slight conformation and dwarfed stature. They have not the pot-belly, do not gape, nor is the dribbling saliva or blood-shot eyes, common to their brethren of the jungles to be found among them."¹¹³

¹¹³ Read Dr. Shortt's *The Hill Ranges of Southern India*, Part I, pp. 52, 53. Compare also Mr. W. F. Sinclair's "Remark" in the *Indian Antiquary* (1877), vol. VI, p. 230. "In the Kaladgi district the Shepherd caste are called Kuru'bars.... What is the meaning and derivation of Kuru'bar, and is it

king) or Padmaana as his disciple and alienated him from Jainism Śiva is revered under various forms, most frequently as Bhairava, but also as Virabhadra, and the temple of the god '*Bira on Curibetta*' is most probably his shrine¹¹⁷ *Ejuruppa* I take to be *Irulappan*, the god of darkness, *Barama Deta* is perhaps Brahma if not Paraméśvara,¹¹⁸ *Durgawa*, *Yacani* (*Yakṣani* or more correctly *Yakṣini*), *Mayara* (*Māyava*) and *Musni* (*Ṣ*) are mentioned as the deities revered by the Kurumbas, and *Durgā*, *Māyava* and *Musni* are worshipped as the wives of Śiva. In Kurg the monster *Kuttadamma* or *Karinkali* (black Kili) is revered by the Kurumbas¹¹⁹

It seems that *Śakti*, as well as *Bhūta* or demon worship exists in some Kurumba communities, though the authorities do not agree with respect to the Bhūtacult¹²⁰

Rāma is not adored by the Kurumbas, and *Dharmaraja*, the favorite deity of the Pālis and other Dravidian races, shares the same fate, which fact must be regarded as very significant¹²¹

The Mackenzie Collection contains an interesting description of the manner in which *Virabhadra* is worshipped by the Idaya Kurumbas who belong to the Yādava race¹²² *Virabhadra* is generally regarded as an Avatāra of Śiva, who, according to the Viṣṇupurāṇa, proceeded from the mouth of Śiva to spoil the sacrifice of Dakṣa, and who is described as "a divine being with a thousand heads a thousand eyes,

¹¹⁷ See p. 225 n. 100 and Dr. Buchanan's *Travels* vol. I pp. 275-317, 389 vol. II pp. 435-436

¹¹⁸ See pp. 274-225 n. 105 and Dr. Buchanan's *Travels* vol. I p. 381 vol. II p. 436

¹¹⁹ See pp. 225 n. 105-238 n. 108 and Dr. Buchanan's *Travels* vol. II p. 436 and Rev. G. Richter's *Ethnographisch. Compendium* p. 13

¹²⁰ See pp. 225 n. 100-230 n. 108 and Dr. Buchanan's *Travels* vol. I, p. 271 vol. II p. 381 and Rev. G. Richter's *Ethnograph. Compendium* p. 13

¹²¹ See p. 227 n. 105 and Dr. Buchanan's *Travels* vol. I p. 276

¹²² See Mackenzie Collection No. 9 C.M. 763 XII in the new copy vol. IV pp. c-f and Rev. W. Taylor's *Catalogue Raisonné* vol. III pp. 368-369

ling) or Padmanna as his disciple and alienated him from Jainism. Śiva is revered under various forms, most frequently as Bhairava, but also as Virabhadra, and the temple of the god 'Bira on Curibetta' is most probably his shrine.¹¹⁷ *Ejuruppa* I take to be *Irulappan*, the god of darkness, *Barama Dera* is perhaps Brabma if not Paramēśvara,¹¹⁸ *Durgawa*, *Yacani* (*Yakṣani* or more correctly *Yakṣini*), *Mayara* (*Mayavā*) and *Musni* (?) are mentioned as the deities revered by the Kurumbas, and Durga, Mayava and Musni are worshipped as the wives of Śiva. In Kurg the monster *Kuttadamma* or *Karinkali* (black Kālī) is revered by the Kurumbas.¹¹⁹

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¹¹⁷ See p. 275 n. 103 and Dr. Buchanan's *Travels* vol. I pp. 276, 317, 339 vol. II pp. 435, 436.

¹¹⁸ See pp. 242 n. 105, and Dr. Buchanan's *Travels* vol. I p. 391 vol. II p. 436.

¹¹⁹ See pp. 225 n. 103, 230 n. 108 and Dr. Buchanan's *Travels* vol. II p. 436 and Rev. G. Richter's *Ethnographical Compendium* p. 13.

¹²⁰ See pp. 225 n. 105, 230 n. 108 and Dr. Buchanan's *Travels* vol. I, p. 271 vol. II p. 381 and Rev. G. Richter's *Ethnogr. Compendium* p. 13.

¹²¹ See p. 222 n. 105 and Dr. Buchanan's *Travels* vol. I p. 276.

¹²² See Mackenzie Collection No. 9 CM 763 VII in the new copy, vol. IV pp. 76 ff. and Rev. W. Taylor's *Catalogue Pannoni* vol. III pp. 368, 369.

a thousand feet ; wielding a thousand clubs, a thousand shafts, holding the shell, the discus, the mace, and bearing a blazing bow and battle-axe." ¹²³ It is now, I believe, impossible to decide whether the Virabhadra of the Kurumbas represents a national, or is a Hindu divinity. According to our MS. the Kurumbas have no national worship, but revere only one deity whom they call *Vira*, *Vīralu*, or *Vīrabhadra*. His feast is celebrated once a year, on new moon day of the Tamil month *Tai*, or about January. The idol is kept shut up in a box in a special room during the whole remaining time of the year. On the anniversary of the festival the box is reverently opened and the idol, which is made of brass, is taken out of it. The image is about a span long, and is placed in an upright position on a cloth spread over the floor, after it has been thoroughly cleaned with tamarind juice and well washed. The figure of the idol is then dressed in clothes, and flowers are placed on its head. Incense is burnt in front of it. Some raw rice is then cooked with milk and water in a new earthen pot, and presented to the idol on a plantain leaf. Plantains, betel-leaf and nuts, are besides offered, and cocoanuts are broken in its honor. After the ceremony is over, the idol is carried back to its usual place, and the people sit down to their meals. The feast lasts three consecutive days, but eight days before its commencement the worshippers take an oil bath, abstain from all sensual enjoyments, prepare their food in clean unprofaned vessels, do not eat flesh but bathe daily. He who has observed all the prescriptions most conscientiously, is placed in front of the idol, and the cocoanuts are broken on his head. The man who breaks the cocoanut, keeps it. If the man's head begins to bleed by the breaking of the cocoanuts, he is suspected of having committed some offence, and thus to have incurred pollution. He must bathe again, and the trial with the cocoanuts is repeated a second time. If his head

¹²³ See H. H. Wilson's *Pishnu Purana*, vol I, pp 128-132

should begin to bleed again, he is finally rejected as impure. Whoever passes the test, becomes the *Pūjāri* for the time being. After this ceremony the Kurumbas dance together, beat drums and blow trumpets.

At the great festivals in Puḍukōṭa the Kurumbas perform a similar ceremony in the presence of the Mahārāja, when the image of *Vīṇalāsmī* is carried in procession and worshipped.

Some Kurumbas believe in a life after death, while others deny a future existence. They differ also in their way of disposing of their dead; some burn, others bury the corpses. The good, according to some, become after their death, benevolent spirits, while the bad assume the shape of evil spirits; and those who die unmarried become *Virikas*. But it seems that even the spirits of the good require some stimulant to keep them quiet, and unless they are appeased by liquor, in their anger they inflict various diseases. Some burn the good but bury the bad, as the spirits of the latter thus confined in the ground cannot escape and make mischief.¹²⁴

The Kurumbas have the peculiar habit, already noticed when speaking of the Kauras,¹²⁵ of shaving their heads entirely when they have to attend a funeral of any of their community. This custom of the Kurumbas was once the cause of a great calamity.¹²⁶ The Kurumbas had made themselves extremely unpopular by their intolerance. During the reign of the Rājas of Vijayanagara the Kurumba Idaiyas were powerful in several other places, especially in Nerumpūr, Śālapākkam and other similar strongholds. The Kurumbas, either actuated by religious zeal or wishing to annoy their dependents, tried

¹²⁴ See pp. 222 n. 105, 223 n. 105, 225 n. 105, 226 n. 105, and Dr. Buchanan's *Travels*, vol. I, pp. 275, 330, 331, vol. II, pp. 155.

¹²⁵ See p. 210.

¹²⁶ See Mackenzie Collection, No. II; C.M. 765, VII*, compare Rev. W. Taylor's *Catalogue*, vol. III, pp. 399-400.

to force the Mudalis and Vellālas to pay homage to them by bowing their heads respectfully to them. But these two classes refusing to do it, the Kurumbas in revenge ill-treated and oppressed them in all sorte of ways. They constructed for this purpose very low entrances at the various places where the Mudalis and Vellālas had to pass through gates, and they thought that they would thus compel these men to lower their heads when going through these entrances, and extract from them in this manner a certain amount of involuntary homage. But the Mudalis and Vellālas of *Nerumpūr* were quite equal to the occasion, and instead of bowing their heads, they scrambled through with their legs foremost, so that they added injury to insult; and the Kurumbas became only more execting. At last the Vellālas could stand this treatment no longer and determined to get rid of their oppressors. For this purpose they had recourse to a leading barber, whom they induced by liberal promises of gifts of land to devise a scheme to help them, and this man persuaded his fellow-barbers to kill the Kurumbas when an opportunity occurred. He founded his plot on the above-mentioned custom, according to which all the Kurumbas who attend a funeral shave their heads. About this time a prominent personage among the Kurumbes died, and the Mudalie and Vellālas evailed themselves of this opportunity to instruct the heed barber to issue orders to his caste-people to kill the Kurumbas while they were being shaved. As the shaving was performed pretty simultaneously, each barber cut the throat of his Kurumbe customer, and all the Kurumbas of *Nerumpūr* were thus massacred. As soon as the tidings of the murder of their husbands reached the Kurumba women, they determined not to survive them, and burnt themselves with the corpses of their consorte. The dying widows uttered the curse that *Nerumpār* should never again produce enough grain to buy salt, even if three crope of grain were reaped every year. The fortification and irrigation works of the Kurumbas have fallen into ruins since then, and only the

earth-mounds and old brick wells near Sadras betray the existence of an ancient town.

Their marriage customs differ also considerably. Originally they did not perform any ceremonies at their marriages, but later on, the majority adopted Jaina or Hindu rites. A manuscript in the Mackenzie Collection contains the following description which, however, resembles the common Hindu marriage customs¹²⁷ The bride and the bridegroom are anointed with oil, and dress themselves after their bath in new clothes. The bride sits in the pandal on the left and the bridegroom on the right. Both are adorned with flowers and have golden tinsel (*bhāṣikam*) on their foreheads. A shoot of the *Pippal* or Holy Figtree (*Aracu*, अरु) is fixed between the two inner posts of the pandal, in which the ceremonies are performed and the people walk round those posts. The marriage is attended by the headman and all relatives. The former when approaching the betrothed couple breaks a cocoanut, and places the Tali which is fastened to a golden string, in the upper cup. This is handed round to ten or more relatives, who shout *mangalī, mangalī*. Eventually the bridegroom, who receives the Tali, at last fastens it round the neck of the bride, uttering the name of *Gōrūda*. The nearest relatives now with crossed hands pour saffron-colored raw rice on the heads of the young pair: this ceremony is called *Cēsai* (சேசை), in Telugu *Sēsa* (సేస).¹²⁸ After this the couple prostrate themselves at the feet of their elders and sit down in their midst. Betel leaves and nuts are then handed round, and the eating and drinking commences. After the distribution of garlands, the *Kanḥana* is tied on the right wrists of the happy pair. The *Cēsai* ceremony is repeated during the two following days, while the bride and bridegroom occupy their former seats; after that the guests are liberally entertained. On the fourth and fifth days pepperwater (*milaku-tapni*) and rice are served out. On the latter day the bride

¹²⁷ See Mackenzie Collection, new copy, vol IV, p 78.

¹²⁸ From the Sanskrit *Sūpa*, head

is taken to her mother's house, where cakes are distributed and a sumptuous meal is provided for all relatives and friends. Two men are then despatched from the house of the bridegroom to that of the bride, where they are welcomed as the escort of the young pair to the bridegroom's house, and receive on starting with them a bundle containing eleven rice-cakes and a lot of jaggery

Many peculiar customs prevail among the Kurumba women, some of which they share with other castes. They generally take assafoetida after childbirth and bathe on the fifth day.¹²⁹ Adultery is generally leniently punished and condoned with a fine. This is as a rule spent on an entertainment, after which the woman is readmitted into society.

The Tali is not removed from the neck of a widow, unless she desires to remarry. In this case the marriage-tie is returned to the family of her former husband, and she wears that given by her new husband. A widow may remarry as often as she likes.

ON OUR HISTORICAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT THE KURUMBAS.

We are very insufficiently informed about the early history of the Kurumbas. Before they settled down to anything like domestic life, they roamed as *Vēḍas* in the virgin forests hunting the deer for its flesh and the wild animals for their own safety. In some places the traces of an ancient Kurumba occupation are not yet effaced. The Rev. F. Metz writes respecting their settlement on the Nilagiri mountains as follows: "There are strong grounds for supposing that the Kurumbas once occupied and cultivated the plateau of the hills, and were driven thence by the Todas into the unhealthy localities which they now inhabit, on the pretext of their being a race of sorcerers whose presence was a bane to the happiness of the other hill-tribes. Several spots near

¹²⁹ See Mackenzie Manuscripts, No. 14, C.M. 758. The Tamil for assafoetida is பெருங்காயம் *Perunkayan*.

“ the Badaga villages bear the name of ‘ Motta ’ to this day, and traces of houses are still visible; and in one place a stone enclosure for buffaloes is to be seen, which, as I gather from an old piece of Badaga poetry formerly belonged to a rich Kurumba, who was murdered by the Todas, at the instigation of the Badagas . . . The Todas and Badagas say that the Kurumbas are the enemies of their peace, and that they cannot live without killing them. Some years ago I discovered the site of a former Kurumba town, of the existence of which I was well aware, but which I had never been able to trace out. It is in the heart of a dense forest, totally unfrequented by the natives and probably never penetrated by any European.”¹³⁰

The Mackenzie Collection contains about the Kurumbas of the Tamil districts some interesting information. From one manuscript (No. 11 C.M., 768) I extract the following account :

“ The country of Tondamandalam was after the deluge totally covered with forest and was infested with wild beasts. A people of wild hunters, known as *Vēdas*, roamed about in the woods. They lived in huts which they had erected after clearing the country. Their place of settlement is still called *Vēdar Pālayam*. No kings ruled over them, and they did just what they pleased. Besides their huts, they had no places in which they could protect themselves. They were guided neither by social nor religious rules, nor had they any books. In fact they were merely a lot of naked savages, who did not observe any ceremonies even at their marriages. They killed the wild beasts of the forests and lived on their flesh.

“ The Kurumbas of the Karnāṭa country had meanwhile risen to prominence, and, after their numbers had increased, began to tyrannize over the other inhabitants. The Kurumbas had very barbarous and cruel habits, and deserved to be

¹³⁰ See Rev. F. Metz' *Tricks inhabiting the Nelyberry Hills*, pp. 122, 123

called Kurumbas (This is an allusion to the meaning of குறம்பு, *Kurumpu*, or குறம்புதனம், *Kurumputtanam*, savageness, stubbornness, insolence, wickedness. It is, however, derived from the national name of the Kurumbas, and not *vice versa*.) In course of time they extended their dominion to the very border of Tondamandalam, and a few Kurumbas settled in Śalapakkam near Uttaramallūr, where their descendants are still known as Kurumbas. Before they had any king, they roved about unrestrained like wild hunters in the forests, till, when dissensions and quarrels had arisen among them, *Kamanda Prabhu* restored peace and quiet. He convinced them that it would be to their advantage to elect a king and they followed his advice. As he was a wise and popular man, he himself was chosen king, and henceforward he was known as *Kamanda Kurumba Prabhu*, the ruler of the Drāviḍa country and Rāja of Pulai. The kingdom was called *Kurumbabhūmi*, the land of the Kurumbas, and this name was entered in all the official documents. He built a fort at the town of Pulai, its walls were constructed of hell-metal, and its strength and grandeur defied description. His rule extended over a vast territory, and as several of his subjects betrayed occasionally an inclination to rebel against him, he subdivided his realm into 24 districts, in each of which he erected a stronghold and appointed a governor. The fort of Pulai was his own capital. The following are the names of some of these fortified places: Pulakkōttai, Āmukkōttai, Kalattūrkōttai, Puliyūrkōttai, Cempūrkōttai, Ūrukāttukōttai, Venkunakōttai, Ikkāttukōttai and Patuvār-kōttai.¹³¹

¹³¹ The late F. W. Ellis gives in his classical article on the *Mirdā* questions all the 24 names, besides the above named are further mentioned: Maṇavārkkōttai, Cōkkāttukōttai, Paṇyūrkōttai, Eyūrkōttai, Tamarkōttai, Paḷkunakōttai, Paṇkāttukōttai, Kalyūrkōttai, Cūrakarukōttai, Kaṭikai-kōttai, Canturikaikōttai, Kunṇipatturakōttai, Veṅkaṭakōttai and Veṇyūrkōttai.—Mr Ellis obtained the list from the *Jñānaprakāśa Maṭam*. Compare the *Papers on Mirdā Right*, Madras, 1862, pp. 235-241.

See also Abbé Dubois' *Description of the People of India*, second edition, p. 312, and Mr J. H. Nelson's *Manual of Madras* Part II, pp. 64-65.

"While Kamanda Prabhu ruled, the various tribes in the country submitted to his rule, and the people could quietly follow their various avocations. Some engaged in trade, others in husbandry, and so on, according to their special inclinations, though the majority devoted themselves to sheep-tending, woollen blanket-weaving and lime-selling. They even ventured at that time to engage in shipping trade, and some Cetti merchants from Kāveripattanam settled in the Kurumba country. Stimulated by them the Kurumbas soon developed a taste and an aptitude for commerce, and in order to facilitate mercantile transactions, they built in course of time strongholds at Pattipulam, Śalakuppam, Salapakkam, Meyyūr, Kadalār, Ālamparaj, Marakkhanam, &c. The Kurumbas and Cettis of Kāveripattanam occupied these fortified ports, and as they were successful in their speculations, amassed great wealth and became influential.

"As already intimated the Kurumbas had no special religion of their own, and a Jaina priest who visited their country, was able to convert the greater portion of the people to Jainism. The Jaina basti which the king of Puḷal erected in honour of that priest, remains up to this day a monument of this conversion. Besides this building, a few other bastis are still existing, though in a very dilapidated condition. Jaina sculptures are now occasionally found in the rice-fields; they are, however, either destroyed or reburied in the ground by Brahmaus and other religious enemies of the Jains. Many Kurumbas resemble in their present manners and customs the Jains of former times, and they do so especially in their marriage ceremonies.

"While the Kurumbas ruled over the laad, their more civilized neighbours often attacked them, but were generally defeated. The Cōla and Pandya kings made thus repeated inroads into the Kurumba territory; but their attempts to subdue their fierce foes were in vain, as they did not mind to sacrifice their lives on the battle-field. Some of these royal aggressors were at times captured and chained in fetters to

the fort-gate of Pulal. These continual successes, however, turned the head of the Kurumbas and made them overbearing, so that they began to annoy and ill-treat those of their subjects who belonged to rival tribes, or had embraced other religious beliefs. They endeavoured in fact to force the Jain religion on all, and created great dissatisfaction by their religious intolerance. Yet no one rose who could oppose them effectually.

"At last *Ādonḍa Cōla*, a brave, wise and popular prince, marched against the Kurumbas and invested their capital Pulal with a large army. He began this campaign as he could no longer endure the tyranny and mal-administration of the Kurumba king and resolved to defeat him at any risk, in order to alleviate the sufferings of the people. The Kurumba king on his side was not wanting in bravery, and went to face the enemy. Both sides fought valiantly, at last three-fourths of the army of *Ādonḍa Cōla* were put to the sword, and unable to resist longer, he fled from the battle-field and took refuge with a few remaining followers in a place not far distant from the fort. This locality is still known as *Cōlanpēdu*. He then made up his mind to retreat on the next morning to his country Tanjore. But at night Śiva appeared to him in a dream and said: "After ascending to-morrow morning your elephant, on your way to the battle, you will find that his legs are entangled in a jasmine-creeper (*Mullai*), and when you try to cut it away with your sword, blood will ooze out of it, and on closer examination you will discover there a Liṅga." Encouraged by his dream, he went to the battle-field, and, after ascending his elephant, saw that the legs of the animal were caught in a jasmine bush and that blood oozed out from the spot where he tried to cut it.¹² This sign confirmed his resolution to

¹² Compare *Tondai Kōṭṭam*, p. 4, sl. 9: "When Tondaman was driven from the battle-field, his elephant was prevented from moving by a jasmine-creeper. Afterwards he fought again and became victorious." A description of this fact is given in a work called *Tirumallaivya'patnam*.

attack his fierce enemies, and he secured a complete victory over them. Ādonda Coḷa captured the Kurumha king and put him to death. Pulai, the chief town and fort of the Kurumhas, was taken, and its brass doors were placed in the inner portion (*garbhagrha*) of the temple of Tanjore. A pillar made of Arka (*Calatropis gigantea*) wood that had been removed from the Tanjore temple, was placed in the interior of a temple and erected at the spot where the Śivalinga had been found. This temple was called *Tiru-mullai-cāṣal*, after the jasmine-creeper which had covered the legs of the elephant. The part of the Linga where the sword of Ādonda had touched it looked like a wound, and is therefore covered with camphor to conceal the sore.

"The remaining twenty-three forts were then taken, and their governors with their retinues were also killed. Ādonda Coḷa appointed Vellāla chiefs instead of the Kurumbas. As he observed that the country was very thinly populated, he invited Vellālas from different districts and induced them to settle in the newly-acquired territory, by granting them freehold land and conferring on them other favours. The Vellālas who accepted the offer were the Tuluva, Coḷya and Kondaikatti Vellālas. The first two were called after the district they came from, the *Tuluva Vellālas* emigrated from the Tuluva-Nādu in Kanara and the *Coḷya Vellālas* from the Cōlanadu. The *Kondaikatti Vellālas* were so called, from binding their hair in a tuft on the top of their head instead of leaving a small lock (*Kndumi*). With these Vellālas together came the *Kanakka-Pillākaḷ* or accountants.

"Ādonda Coḷa ruled the land with justice and in peace, and was henceforth known as *Ādonda Coḷa Cakravartī* or as *Tondaman Cakravartī*. The country which had hitherto been called *Kurumhahhumi* was now named *Tondaman-dalam*."

In order to ascertain what was left of Pulai, I lately visited the place and its neighbourhood. It lies about 8 miles north-west of Madras, to the east of the big lake, known as

the Red-Hills Tank The place where the old fort of Pulal stood is still remembered and pointed out by the people. However, the outlines of the outer and inner mud walls are now only visible, within the latter is a tank. These walls must have encircled once a fort of considerable extent, of which nothing however remains. Hyder Ali on his march to Madras encamped here. Pulal is also called *Vāna Pulal*, and near it is situated a small hamlet *Mādhavarām*.

About a mile to the north-east lies the present village Pulal, in which I found three temples. A small Jaina basti dedicated to *Āditirthankara*, though in a decayed condition, is still used for worship, and has the reputation of being old. The Vaisnava temple of *Karimānikyaperumal* does not appear to be ancient, while the erection of the Śiva temple is ascribed to Ādonda Cōla. It is dedicated to *Trimūlanātha*, but as a famous sannyasi Sundaramūrtisvāmi worshipped there, it is known as the shrine of *Sundarēstara*. It is evidently pretty old, and, though partly repaired some years ago, is in a dilapidated state. It has the appearance of a Cōla temple, and is covered with inscriptions, those seen on the outside being in a bad condition. The temple possesses no Sthalapurana, nor any copper Śāsanams. The name of the goddess is *Scarnāmbikā*.

On the other side of the lake, about six miles towards south-west, lies the hamlet *Tirumullairāyal* or *Tirumullairāyal*, which is named after the adventure which befell the prince Ādonda in his combat against the Kurumhas. A temple is erected near the spot where the Liṅga was wounded by the sword of the Cōla prince and dedicated to Śiva as *Mācillāmani*, which is a Tamil translation of the Sanskrit *Nirmalamapi*, meaning 'spotless jewel.' On one of the stone columns of the mantapam in front of the Gūpura is carved the figure of Ādonda sitting on an elephant in the act of cutting with his sword the jasmine-creeper from the leg of the elephant. The similarity in the sound of *mullai*, jasmine, and *mala*, stain, raises a suspicion against the

genuineness of this legend. The temple is in good preservation. Two so-called Arka-pillars (not one as the manuscript just quoted states) are covered with a beam, and form with the two side walls the support of the Ardhmantapam, which communicates on the western side by a door in the common wall with the Garbhagrha behind. Between, but behind the two Arka-pillars, is situated in the Garbhagrha the holy Liṅga, which on account of its wound is covered with sandal-wood-powder and other cooling ingredients. The local legend contends that Ādonda brought the two brownish-looking Arka-pillars, together with a hell, and a bronze door from the fort of Puḷal. This gateway, however, has since disappeared. Cōlanpēdu lies close to Tirumullaivāśal.

In order to assist Ādonda in his fight against the Kṛumbas, Śiva sent his attendant *Nandi*, and in confirmation of this fact the Nandi at Tirumullaivāśal faces the east, instead of being turned towards the idol, i.e., towards the west. The consort of *Mācillamani* is called *Kodai idai Nāyaki*. The temple has a *Sthalapurāṇa*, its first part, which was only lent to me, does not contain any allusion to Ādonda. I have been told that there are no *Tāmra Śāśana*s to throw light on the erection of the temple. Not far from this temple towards the south stands an enormous image, constructed of brick and mortar representing *Mannarsvāmi*, accompanied by the seven Sages.

A young Brahman D. Rāghavayya accompanied me and obtained some valuable information as I was not permitted to enter the temple, and I do not know whether it contains any important inscriptions. It may be well worth while to examine carefully the temples at Puḷal and Tirumullaivāśal in order to ascertain whether they possess any account about Ādonda Cakravarti, though I have been told that there is none. The battle between the Cōlas and the Kūṛumbas was fought somewhere between those two places.

The origin of the word *Tondamandalem* is doubtful, and different explanations are given of it. The most widely-

spread legend connects the name with the prince Ādonḍa Cōḷa. As the destruction of the Kurumhas is attributed to this popular hero, an account of his origin will not be out of place here. The following story is found in several MSS. of the Mackenzie Collection : ¹³³

"In Cōḷamandalam ruled 44 descendants of the ancient Cōḷa Rājas. The last was Kulōṭṭuṅga Cōḷa, who had by his queen two children, a daughter and a son. Kulōṭṭuṅga Cōḷa killed the son of the poet Kamhan, and Kamban killed in revenge the son of the king. At the royal entertainments of the court there was dancing for some time a beautiful girl *Nākināgaratna* with whom the king fell in love. But as Kulōṭṭuṅga felt that he would lose the esteem of the people if he allowed his passion to transgress public decency, he kept his affection a great secret and used a servant girl *Umāpati* to arrange meetings between *Nākināgaratna* and himself. In course of time a boy was born, whom *Umāpati* dressed in a silk gown and put in a golden basket with Ādonḍa flowers round him. She then placed the basket on the bank of the Kāvēri, near the spot where the king generally bathed. All this was done by the order of the king. When the king came afterwards with his Brahmans and courtiers to the river they heard a child cry, and, on approaching nearer, they saw it and said to the king: 'O king, as you forgave Kamban who killed your son, God presents to you this wonderful child on the bank of the Kāvēri. The child resembles you, and is worthy to become the ruler of the

¹³³ In the *Tondamandalam Cōḷamandalam-Panjiyamanḍalam*, old No. 241, C.M. 66. This work is said to have been compiled by *Vīḍandiyalan*, a Christian poet of Tanjore. See *Taylor's Catalogue Raisonné*, vol. III, pp. 41, 42. This work is copied in No. 7, C.M., 761, Section III (Taylor, vol. III, p. 370). A somewhat similar account is contained in No. 14, C.M. 763, Section II; in the new copy in the vol. II, pp. 65-67, and in Taylor, vol. III, pp. 426, 427; and also in No. 15, C.M. 762, I., new copy, vol. I, p. 125.

I need not specially point out the inaccuracies contained in this report, for they are too evident, as, e.g., the foundation of Kāñci by Kulōṭṭuṅga Cōḷa.

country. As he is adorned with Ādonda flowers, we take this as a lucky omen and call him 'Ādonda Coḷa.' Circumstances favouring so far the designs of the king, he gave the child to his wife with the words: 'God has presented this child to you near the Kāvēri' The queen accepted it and brought it up with much affection. The truth about the birth of the child was not only known to the king and the dancing girl, but also to some extent to his chief minister. Meanwhile the child grew up, and displayed much cleverness, knowledge and courage. When the king consulted his minister about the marriage and succession of his son, the minister pretended to agree with the plans of the king, but communicated secretly to the relatives of the king the circumstances accompanying the birth of Ādonda and the intentions of the king concerning the future of his son. The consequence was that the royal princes refused to marry one of their daughters to a bastard, and to allow his succession to the throne as it would throw dishonor on them. The minister communicated to Kulōttuṅga the unfavourable disposition of the princes. The king, however, did not give up his plans, but pondered how he might execute them in spite of their objections. At last he fixed on Tondamandalam as a suitable province to give to Ādonda, though it was still a wilderness. He explored it, cleared the forest, laid the foundation of the capital Kāñci, erected there a temple and dug a channel for the river Palar. As Kulottunga observed how thinly the land was inhabited, he despatched his minister with money to other countries to induce people to immigrate into the newly-acquired district. The minister accordingly returned with many boys and girls of various castes, and the king ordered them to be married. This done he placed Ādonda on the throne at Kāñci. Kulōttuṅga then asked the minister to propose a suitable name for the country. In spite of the high position which Ādonda had meanwhile secured, the minister still despised him

account of his illegitimate birth. He suggested therefore that the new territory should be called Tondamandalam (the district of slaves) and the king without any auspicion named it so ¹³⁴. Since that time this country has been called Tondamandalam, and Tondamandalam was thus founded by Kulottunga Cola. The name of Kurumbabhūmi was then changed into Tondamandalam and Adonda Cola was installed as Tondamandala Cakravarti ¹³⁵.

"The legitimate daughter of Kulottunga Cola had married Varagunapandya, ¹³⁶ the only son of Bālacandrapāndya. After Kulottunga Cola's death which took place in the 69th year of his life, Varagunapandya took Colamandalam and Tondamandalam, which had belonged to his father-in-law. Afterwards *Ubhayakulakīlupandya*, the son of Varagunapāndya and of the daughter of Kulottunga Cola, ascended the throne of Colamandalam, and his descendants reigned over it for three centuries.

"The progeny of Adonda Cola submitted to their fate and received some land for their maintenance.

"Minaketanapāndya was the last and eleventh descendant of Ubhayakulakīlupandya. So long as these kings ruled, no enemies were feared. These kings ruled for 2707 years."

¹³⁴ MS No 14 OM 768 Section II here inserts a short account of the war of Adonda Cola with the Kurumbas his first defeat and final victory. This MS also calls always Tondamandalam *Tondarmandalam*.

¹³⁵ This last remark as well as the other about the Kurumbas is only found in No 14 OM 768 Section II which ends with this passage.

¹³⁶ Compare the Appendix by Rev T Foulkes to *A Manual of the Salem District* vol II pp 370 (al 18) 373 (al 18) 378 379.

The father of Varaguna is generally given as Sundarēśvarapadaśekhara and his son as Raja Raja though the chronicles differ in their chronology see H H Wilson's List of the Pandyan kings in his Historical sketch in the *Madras Journal* vol VI (1837) pp 211 218. Rev W Taylor's *Oriental Historical Manuscripts* vol I pp 85 90. About Kamban's life refer to F W Ellis replies to Mirās questions in *Papers on Mirās Right* p 292 where S S 808 (A D 835) is given as the date of his presenting the Tamil translation of the Ramayana to his patron Rajendra Cola. Others prefer S S 807 A D 835.

The *Tiruvērkaṭṭu Purana* says about the origin of the term Tondamandalam "The country was called *Dandalanadu* as it was ruled by Dandaka. Then it was named *Tundīnanadu* in consequence of the reign of Tundira. Afterwards it was called Tondanadu, as Tondamān, a descendant of the solar race who wore a garland of Adonda flowers, governed the kingdom."¹³⁷

The late Mr F W Ellis quotes a stanza from the *Tiruvākāṭṭu Purana* in which a similar statement is made, the difference between the two Purāṇas being, that the latter mentions Tondira as the founder of Tondīranāḍu before Dandaka, the assumed establisher of Dandakanāḍu.¹³⁸

The boundaries of Tondamandalam are said to be the two Pennai or Pīṇākini rivers in the north and south, and the sea and the Western Ghāts up to Tirupati on the east and west. Some parts of the Western Ghāts also belonged to it. Mr Ellis gives the memorial verses concerning the frontiers of this district. The Southern Pennai flows into the sea near Gūdalār (Cuddalore), while the northern passes through the district of Nellār close to Kalahasti, both streams rising near the Nandidrug in Mysore.¹³⁹

¹³⁷ See the following stanza from the *Tiruvērkaṭṭu Puranam* —

திருவேற்காட்டுப் புராணம்

தண்டகனாடு தண்டகநாடாய்த் தாவறுதுண்டிரனாடு
வண்டலாச்சோ"வத் தண்டிரநாடாய் மலிபுகழிரவிதனகுலத்தா
தொண்டநனமாவைத் தொண்டமானாடு தொண்டநாடாய்த்
துய
வண்டாவானகாரி சொரிதபாலபெருகியமாததவிபாலி தன்
குடே

¹³⁸ See *Papers on Madras History* (Madras, 1862) p. 231. "Tondiren the chief among the leaders of the demon bands of the three eyed deity having governed it this country became Tondīranāḍu when it was destroyed by Daṇḍavēṇḍer it became accordingly Daṇḍa nāḍu and when Chēsher of the family of the sun who was Tondmān adorned by garlands of flowers extended his protection to it it became Tondai nāḍu. Compare also the stanza in *Haṭṭi girivāṇḍi* which begins with *Tundīrdhīyam maṇḍalam aṭṭi sṛṅgaṇ yam*."

¹³⁹ See *Papers on Madras History* pp. 229-31. cnp. "16 Mr Ellis remarks 'The whole superficies of Tondamandalam as originally settled by the

According to the above-mentioned Tiruvērkāṭṭu Purāṇa this country is known also as *Pālinādu*, because the Pālār river flows through it.

The original meaning of the term *Tonḍamaṇḍalam* is variously explained. According to the first and most popular derivation it was so called after the illegitimate Cōla prince Ādonḍa, who had been exposed on the bank of the Kāvērī in a basket filled with Ādonḍa or Tonḍa flowers, which in their turn supplied him with his name. A second interpretation asserts that the newly-acquired province was covered to such an extent with the *Donḍa* oil-creeper, that the country was called after it. The third etymology is founded on the meaning of *Tonḍan*, a slave, a devotee. If so, it alludes either to the low birth of Ādonḍa, its illegitimate first ruler, or to the uncivilised and slavish condition of the inhabitants of *Tonḍamaṇḍalam*. Another possibility arises by connecting *Tuṇḍira*, the fabulous ancient king, with *Tonḍa*.

The legendary story of the birth of the illegitimate Cōla prince Ādonḍa is very perplexing. All circumstances considered, even after his victory he could only have been a dependent Viceroy of the Cōla king. According to tradition, his offspring soon lost even this position; though some inscriptions appear to make him the ancestor of reigning princes. The defeat of the Kuṛumbas appears to be a historical fact, but is sometimes narrated without mentioning Ādonḍa.¹⁴⁰ As the latter is said to have introduced *Vellālas* and *Kaṇaka*

people of *Shōzha-maṇḍalam*, is measured by 18,302 square miles; of this extent the division of the country between the range of the Ghat mountains and the sea, lower *Tondei*, contains 14,028 square miles, and the division to the west of the Ghats, upper *Tondei*, 4,274: the latter is colored yellow in the map."

Read also 'Mackenzie MS., No. 15, C.M. 769, Section I; in the new copy, vol. I, p. 125. This declares *Kalahasti* as the northern, the river *Peppar* as the southern, the mountain *Paṭumalai* as the western, and the sea as the eastern boundary.

¹⁴⁰ See p. 251.

Pillalaik into Tondamandalam, these men could not be stigmatised as slaves or *tondar*

The oil-plant, *Capparis horrida*, which is the Tamil *Adonda* (commonly pronounced *Adanda*) or *Tonda* creeper, is well known in Southern India and esteemed for its medicinal properties¹⁴¹ It is certainly peculiar that the same plant should have given its name to a Tanjorein prince and to a northern province which he is said to have governed and which was covered with it

I rather feel inclined to prefer the legend which connects the name with the inhabitants of the country, who made on the more cultivated southerners the impression of a rude and uncouth set of people The Kurumbas however, must have already attained a considerable degree of civilisation, though they looked despicable in the eyes of their enemies While *tondu* denotes a slave, *tondu* signifies feudal service In Palghat the Ilavas are to this day nicknamed *Kottu tondar* I think it highly probable that the Kurumbahhumi was reduced to a feudal state as Tondamandalam, and that the Kurumbas were regarded as Tondar The minister of Kulotunga wanted, as we have seen, to apply the name *Tondan* to Adonda Cola himself¹⁴²

The subject becomes even more complicated by the Sanskrit name of the district *Dandakaranya*, or *Dandakanadu* in Tamil The southern legend ascribes to this country, as we

¹⁴¹ In Tamil *குடிநெய்யெல* and *நெய்யெல* in Telugu *Arudonda* *అరుండా* The *A* of *Arudonda* seems to be therefore a contraction of *Aru* in *Arudonda* *Arudonda* *అరుండా* is called the *Capparis zeylanica* *Donda* seems to apply to the fruit of the *Bryonia* or *Bumba* (O. F. Brown's *Telugu Dictionary* pp 71, 451) in Kanarese *Tonde* or *Tonda* *ತಂಡೆ* is the name of the *Bryonia grandis* In Dr J Forbes Watson's *Index to the Native and Scientific Names of Indian and other Eastern Economical Plants and Products* the *Capparis horrida* is called *Adonda* *Arudonda* in Telugu *Arundau* *Arundau* in Hindustani and *Dekkani* *Atanday* *Atanday* *Atunday* in Tamil *Rcinus comu* is called *Aranda* and *Arundi* in Hindustani and *Bryonia grandis* *Donda kaya* in Telugu *Tund* *ತಂಡೆ* is the Sanskrit name for the cotton plant which grows in South India in great quantity

¹⁴² See p 207

have seen, three rulers Dandaka, Tundira and Ādonda, who conferred in their turn their names on it. This tradition seems to rest on a very slight foundation. Not only do these rulers appear in a different sequence, at least so far as Dandaka and Tundira are concerned, but their names resemble one another to such an extent, that one cannot help suspecting their being in reality only variations of the same identical term.

Danda or *Dandaka* was the son of the ancient king Īksvāku, and was cursed by Śukracarya for carrying off his daughter *Ahya*. In consequence of this curse the pious hermits left the country, and it became an uninhabitable waste land. According to ancient accounts *Dandakaranya*, the forest of Danda or Dandaka, was situated between the Narmadā and Gōdavarī rivers, but its limits were gradually widened, till it stretched all over Southern India. On the other hand the province, in whose centre lies the present City of Madras, was specially distinguished as Tondamandalam. So far as I am informed nothing is known about a Dravidian king Dandaka, and this present form of the name suggests a Sanskrit origin. I am, however, of opinion that *Danda*, *Tunda*, *Tundira* are all variations of the same identical word, though it is difficult, if not impossible, to decide whether this term is of Sanskrit or Gauda-Dravidian source. It is not improbable that the king Danda and the demon *Tunda*—peculiarly enough *Tondira* is described as a leader of demon bands—are the representatives of an aboriginal population. The name of the Tundikēras behind the Vindhyan mountains bears some resemblance to *Tonda*. After *Tundira* Kāñcīpuram is occasionally called *Tundirapuram*, a designation which would assign its foundation to a remote antiquity. *Tondi* is also the name of a town, and *Tondiarpet* is a suburb of Madras. It is now commonly called Tanḍiyārpēt *தண்டியார்பேட்டை*, as Ādondai is in Tamil similarly pronounced Ādandai.¹¹³

¹¹³ Compare the *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch* von Otto Focklingk and Rudolph Roth vol. III, pp. 424, 425 under दंड and दंडक, H. H. Wilson's *Glossary*

The existence of the *Tonda* or *Donda* plant may have led to the legend of the illegitimate prince Adonda being placed in a basket filled with *Ādonda* creepers and named after them

The name of the king Danda or Dandaka may thus be of Gauda-Dravidian origin. So far as historical evidence goes, the term *Dandakaranya* is prior to that of *Tondamandalam*, but both may have sprung from the same source. It is further possible that the Kurumbas were nicknamed *Tondas*. Other difficulties arise from the circumstance that the Pallava kings exercised authority contemporaneously with the Kurumbas in the same country.

The title of the ruler of Tondamandalam was *Tondaman*, a designation which is still borne by the Raja of Pudukōta in the Trichinopoly district, as chief of the Kallas. I regard these Kallas as the representatives of a portion of the martial caste of the Kurumbas.¹⁴¹ When these had found their occupation as regular soldiers gone, they took to marauding, and made themselves so obnoxious by their thefts and robberies, that the term *Kallan*, thief, was applied and stuck to them as a tribal appellation.¹⁴² In some documents the Kallas are called Kurumbas, and one of the sub divisions of the kindred Koramas is known as *Kalla Koramas*.

pūṣṭa edited by Fitzedward Hall vol III, pp 238 239 250 260, and vol IV p 59 about the Tundikōras

¹⁴¹ The Rev W Taylor identifies also in the *Catalogue Ra sonné* vol III pp 395 (the *Kallars* or *Cuumbars*) and 399 (the *Kallars* or thieves another name for the *Curubars* or *Fedars*) the Kallas with the Kurumbas MS No I C M 755, 3 of the Mackenzie MSS identifies in fact the Kallas with the Kurumbas for the *Kallas of Kallakottai who were defeated by the Pallegar* Śrīvallavaramakuttāla Tevar and Kṛṣṇarāyamaratappa Tevar are called Kurumbas. The Kallas have also adopted the title *Tevar* like the Maravas. Compare moreover Mr J H Nelson's remarks on the Kallas in his *Man of the Madura Country* Part II pp 44-58.

¹⁴² In Tamil *kāl* means theft lying and *kallan* thief robber in Malayalam *kallam* denotes theft untruth and *kalla* thief liar in Kanarese *kāla* is a villain liar and in Telugu *kalla* means he. The word *Kalla* occurs only in the Tamil language as a tribal designation a fact which proves that the name *kallan* is derived from the root *kāl* and not *vice versa* as Mr

From reliable information I have gathered, the Kuṛumha origin of the Kallae appears very probable. The ancestors of the Kallās were according to tradition driven from their home in consequence of a famine and migrated from a place near Tripati in Tondamandālam to the south. They eventually settled in the village *Ambil* on the bank of the Kole-roon (in Tamil Kolladam), opposite and not far distant from Tanjore, the river being between both places. The ruler of Tanjore enlisted them in his service as watch-men or Kavar-kār. Eventually, they left Ambilnādu, penetrated still further to the south and founded *Ambukōul*, which they named after the home they had left not long before.¹⁴⁶ They settled in nine villages, and their descendants are called *Onbadukuppattār*, after *onbadu* nine and *kuppam* village. They are regarded as the nine representative clans of the Kallās. The reigning family of the Tondamān belongs to them, and the *Onbadukuppattār* are as a sign of this connection invited to all the marriages, festivals and other solemnities which take place at Court. *Ambilnādu* formed originally one of the 12 independent small communities, known as *Tannaracu Nādu*, i.e., a district which has its own king, forming thus a sort of confederation, like that which prevailed among the

Nelson seems to intimate when he says in his *Manual* (II, p. 49) "that the word *Kallan* is common to the Kanarese, Telugu, Malayalam and Tamil tongues . . . (and) that the Kallans were the last great aboriginal tribe of the south which successfully opposed the advancing tide of Hinduism."

¹⁴⁶ A great part of the information about the Kallās I obtained from the present Dewan Regent of Pudukōṭa, the Honorable A. Seshiah Śāstrīyar, C I E

See also Mr. Nelson's *Manual*, II, p. 44. "According to Ward's Survey Account the Kallans belong to two main divisions, that of the *Kilnadu* or eastern country, and that of the *Mēl nadu* or western country. The *Kil Nadu* comprises the *Nadus* of Mēlār, a village about sixteen miles east of Madura, Vellalār and Sirungudi and its inhabitants, whose agnomen is usually Ambalakāran, are the descendants of a clan which immigrated into the country in the following circumstances. Some Kallans belonging to the *Vella* (Vala?) *Nādu* near Kānc̣hapuram (Conjeveram) came down south with a number of dogs on a grand hunting expedition, armed with their peculiar weapons, pikes, bludgeons and *Vallars Thadis* or boomerangs. Somehow in the neighbourhood of Mēlār, whilst they were engaged in their sport, they

Kadamhas. This *Nādu* was situated east of Trichinopoly, south of Tanjore and north of Ramnad, the residence of the Sētopati.¹⁴⁷ In course of time the Ambilnādu Kallas became through the favour of the Trichinopoly Naicks the heads of the twelve districts, under their chief the Tondaman. One of these princes married a daughter of a Trichinopoly Naick, and her consort erected after her death the *Ammāl cattu am*, which lies between Trichinopoly and Pudukōta. In consequence and in honor of this connection the court language at Pudukōta is to this day Telugu, and Telugu is the first language in which the royal children are instructed. In the characters of this language the Rājas also write their signature. The Kattiyams or poems which celebrate the deeds and contain the pedigree of the Tondamans are sung in Telugu and by Telugu hards or *Bhadrāyus*.

A singular observance which has survived to the present day seems to strengthen the evidence about the Kurumba descent of the Kallas. At every important feast, especially at the floating festival, which is celebrated by the Pudukōta Rājas the Kamhali-Kurumbas of a neighbouring village, about 4 miles distant from Pudukōta, appear with their goddess *Vīralakṣmī*. They then perform before the Rāja a very old and peculiar dance, their heads being covered with long flowing plumes, and at the conclusion of the dance, a Kurumba sits down quietly with his arms round his knees, while another breaks on his head cocoanuts, the tom-toms meanwhile continuing to beat time to the dance. With this

observed a peacock showing fight to one of their dogs, and thinking from this circumstance that the country must be a fortunate country and one favorable to bodily strength and courage, they determined to settle in it."

In Dr Winslow's *Tamil Dictionary*, p 31, *Ambalakkāran* is explained as "a chief of the Kaller caste," or as *Kallayattittalaiyan*.

The village of the Kallas above alluded to is *Ambalakkārappalai*, and lies 5 miles distant from Melār.

¹⁴⁷ The Tamil *சென்னை*, *Tannaracu*, originally meaning *self-government*, got eventually the sense of *republican*, *anarchic* and even *independent* rule. *Tannaracu Nādu* is therefore a district with a democratic or independent government.

ceremony the festival concludes. This respect paid to the Kurumba goddess seems to prove that she is also worshipped by the Kallas, who, though calling themselves Śaivites, are mostly still devil-worshippers ¹⁴⁸

The ancient home of the Kallas being Tondamandalam explains thus the name of their chief, so well known in the modern Indian history as the *Tondaman* and their Kurumba origin is likewise indicated by their using the *Nadu* and *Kottam* system as a division of their country, these two terms being peculiar to the Revenue Administration of the Kurumbas ¹⁴⁹

From subsequent events it is however clear that the Kurumbas, though defeated and at times even reduced to insignificance, were not annihilated and that they eventually recovered to some extent their former influences. We know thus that the Kurumbas reasserted their supremacy in certain places, and made themselves feared again in Tondamandalam, and held Marutam Kottai in the times of Kṛṣṇaraja of Vijayanagara ¹⁵⁰

Another branch of the Kurumbas is even said to have founded the Kingdom of Vijayanagara, as its first dynasty is traced to Kurumba descent. Horace H. Wilson says that these princes were of a "*Kurma* or *Kuruba* family." This tradition tallies with the fact that both the first kings of Vijayanagara and the Kurumbas pretended to be Yadavas ¹⁵¹

Other Kurumbas invaded Southern India about two hundred years ago and founded the Marāṭha Kingdom of Tanjore, an event which leads me to speak of the *Kurmis*, *Kumbis* or *Kunbis*

¹⁴⁸ The special deity of the modern Kallas is called *Alakar*, அலகர், alak signifies beauty. Compare about the cocoanuts p. 238

¹⁴⁹ See Mr. Ellis' *Report on the Madras Rights* pp. 228-229

¹⁵⁰ See Mackenzie Collection No. 14 C M 768 VIII

¹⁵¹ See p. 261. Rev. W. Taylor's *Catalogue Raisonné* vol. III p. 368, and H. H. Wilson's Introduction to the Mackenzie Collection 1st ed. p. cxi (2nd ed. p. 83). One tradition ascribed the origin of Vijayanagar to Madhava leaving it to the *Kurma* or *Kuruba* family

ON THE KURMIS, KUMBIS OR KUNBIS

I have already intimated that a considerable portion of the agricultural population of Northern India is, as I believe, of Gaudian origin. When saying this, I had in view the widely-spread and well known tribe of the Kurmis, Kumbis or Kunbis, who according to the last Census Report number 12,199,531 souls. The agricultural population forms in most countries the bulk of the nation and, in an agricultural land like India this large number need not create any astonishment. The late Rev Dr John Wilson proposed to derive the word Kurmi (Kumhi or Kunhi) from the Sanskrit root *kr̥*, to plough and to take *kurmi* for a modification of *kr̥mi*, ploughman, a word which, however, so far as I know, does not exist in Sanskrit ¹⁵² कृ.

I regard this etymology as wrong and prefer to explain the terms *Kurmi* and *Kumbi* as contractions of *Kurumi* and *Kurumbi* in fact, as stated previously, we actually meet with the term *Kurma* for *Kuruma* ¹⁵³. The interchange between *r* and *d* modifies *Kurumba* into *Kudumba* and most peculiarly a part of the agricultural population of Tanjore bears to this day the name *Kudumban* which is identical with *Kudumbi*, and from which the Marathi *Kumbi* or *Kunbi* is derived. The expression *Kudumbi* is still occasionally used in this sense, as I have been informed on good authority, by some natives of Baroda and its neighbourhood, and even in the Mysore territory the Maratha Kunbis are called, as I hear, at times *Kudumbis*. The existence of terms like

¹⁵² See the Rev Dr John Wilson's 'Tribes and Languages of the Bombay Presidency' in the *Indian Antiquary* vol III p 299. The largest tribe of the Marāṭha people is that of the *Kumbis* corresponding with the Gujarati *Kulambis* or cultivators. The derivation of the name is as follows. *Kṛishāmi* (९) a ploughman *Kurmi* (Hindi) *Kulumbi* (Gujarati) and *Kunabi* or *Kunbi* (Marathi). They are called Marāṭhas by way of distinction. Some of their oldest and highest families (as that of Śrī vī) the founder of the Marāṭha Empire) hold themselves to be descended of *Kṣātriyas* or *Rājputs* and though they eat with the cultivating Marāṭhas they do not intermarry with them. All the *Marāṭhas* however are viewed by the Brāhmins as Śūdras.

¹⁵³ See the text and n 151 on p 260

Kurumhi or Kudumhi accounts also for the Guzarāti *Kulambī*, though this expression is said to be only used in works published in the Educational series

The term *Kudumbi*, however, is also mentioned in the Madras Census Report as current in Tanjore. It must not be mistaken for the Sanskrit *Kutumbi*, householder; nor must it be connected with the Tamil *kudumi*, a tuft of hair.

Kumbi was changed into *Kunbi*, and this again into *Kunahi* and *Kunubi* which forms are found in modern Marathi. Should any derivative of Kurmi, Kumbi or Kunbi denote agriculture, it must have originated in the same manner from *Kumbi* as *Vellanmai* has from *Vellalan*.

The antiquated Indian caste system is so far right that it assigns the Kurmis, Kumbis or Kunbis to the Śūdra class, i.e., to the non-Aryan population. In spite of contradictory evidence Colonel Dalton thinks: "it is probable that in the Kurmis we have the descendants of some of the earliest of the Aryan colonists of Bengal"¹³⁴

The Kurmis are on the whole a very respectable, industrious and well-to-do class, though not credited with much intellect. Like many other low-born people some Kurmis display a great anxiety to prove their noble extraction, and, in order to avoid any mistakes being made on this subject, Dr Francis Buchanan expressly asserts that they are in reality Śūdras, though some claim to be Ksatriyas. The Kurmis of Berar eat meat, drink spirits and allow widows to remarry. In the Bombay Presidency the Kurmis are subdivided into two classes, the *Agris* and *Marathas*, and the latter are in their turn again known as *Pure Marāthas* and *Akarmashis*. The *Akarmashis* are deemed to be descendants of slaves, and the *Agris* are representatives of an aboriginal race¹³⁵

¹³⁴ See his *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 317

¹³⁵ About the Kurmis compare Dr Fr Buchanan's *History, Antiquities, Topography and Statistics of Eastern India*, vol. I, pp. 166, 257, vol. II, pp.

These facts seem to be conclusive evidence for the non-Aryan origin of the Kurmis and Kunbis. But what makes this tribe historically so interesting, is the circumstance that some of the chief Hindu dynasties of modern times such as the Rajas of *Sattara*, the late Rajas of *Tanjore*, *Scindia* and others are of Kumbi extraction. The circumstance that the old Marathi dialect has preserved the term *Kudumbi* enables us to trace the connection of these Kunbis with the Kudumbas or Kurumbas.

Considering the bravery and the fierceness of the ancient Kurumbas who were the dread and the hane of their neighbours, we need not be surprised if the fire of their martial disposition was not quite extinct in the otherwise plodding Kumbis, and that the genius of Sivaji and Ekoji could kindle the spark into a blazing flame. If Sir George Campbell had suspected the origin of the Kunbis, he would

468 469 Next to the Ahirs the Kurmis here (in Gorakhpore) hold the highest place and in Parraona they obtained the whole property although they were not able to secure the title of Raja. This however was bestowed on the family by the late Asud Doulah but it gave great offence to the Rajputs and has been discontinued. The families most nearly connected with the chiefs of Parraona and some others who were Chandkars of Pergunahs are reckoned Ashraf and scorn the plough. While a great many of the Sathavar and Putahwar tribes have become ashamed of the term Kurmi, and reject all additions to the names above mentioned although it is well known that they are Kurmis and many of them are not ashamed of this name. On the right of the Saraya this tribe is most commonly called Kunmi or Kunbi which in the account of Mysore I have written Cunabi (see above p. 39 n. 109) for it is one of the most generally diffused and numerous tribes in India and in Malawa has risen to great power by the elevation of Sandhya to the government of Ujjain. This person was a Kurmi but I am told that at his capital the Kurmis are now reckoned Rajputs as they would have been here had the Parraona family been a little more powerful. There is some reason to suspect that their claim is better founded than that of many who have had more success for it is alleged by many that they are the same with the Tharus whose claim to be descended of the family of the sun is supported by many circumstances which must be allowed to have some weight although I do not think them conclusive. If the Kurmis however, are the same with the Tharus they are at any rate descended of the most powerful most civilized, and most ancient tribe that has been sovereigns of the country since the time at least of the family of the sun. As the Tharus, however are impure the Kurmis strenuously deny the connection they being

not have been so puzzled about the military element so conspicuous in their character ¹⁵⁶

ON THE ORIGIN OF THE TERM KADAMBA

Having been able to recognize in the Kurmie or Knmbis the well-known Kurumbas or Kudumbas, I do not believe that I go too far by suggesting a similar explanation for the name of the famous Kadamba dynasty of ancient times. Only mysterious legends which connect its founder with the Kadamba tree are known about this royal race. I suspect that behind the name Kadamba lurks that of Kudumba or Kurumba, and that the former was originally an accidental alteration through variation of sound, which, in course of time, was accepted and used to obliterate the real origin of the ruling tribe. In this case, its ethnological status is ascertained, and I shall now enquire into the origin of the title Kadamba.

nearly as pure as the Ahirs. They formerly ate wild pork, but now reject it, and will not acknowledge that they drink spirituous liquor. They keep widows as concubines. Their Gurus and Purohats are the same with those of the Ahirs.

Compare further Sir Henry M. Elliot's *Synonymical Glossary of Indian Terms* vol I, pp 155-157. H. H. Wilson's *Glossary*, pp 302, 304 and 305, under *Kunbi* and *Kurmī*. *Kurmī*, *Koornēe* (کرمی) The caste of agriculturists or of a member of it in Eastern and Central Hindustan, being the same, essentially, as the *Kunbis* of the west and south. Consult also Colonel Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, pp 306-308, 317-327. Sir George Campbell's *Ethnology of India* pp 40-92-95. Rev M. A. Sherrington's *Hind. Tribes and Castes*, vol I pp 323-325 vol II, pp 99-101, 187, 188, vol III, pp 150-152.

¹⁵⁶ See Sir George Campbell's *Ethnology of India*, p 94. 'Nothing puzzled me more than this viz. to understand whence came the great Maratta military element. In the Punjab one can easily understand the sources of Sikh power every peasant looks fit to be a soldier. But the great mass of the Maratta Koonboos look like nothing of the kind and are the quietest and most obedient of humble and unwarlike cultivators. Although the Koonboo element was the foundation of the Maratta power, though Sevajee and some of his chiefs were Koonboos, it appears that these people came almost exclusively from a comparatively small district near Sattara a hilly region where as I judge the Koonboos are much mixed with numerous aboriginal and semi-aboriginal tribes of Mhars and others.' Compare about the *Kunbis* also the *Gazetteer of Amravati* pp 265-270.

Different legends are told to explain the name of the *Kadamba*, *Kadamba* or *Kadamba* dynasty ¹³⁷

One story tells us that after the destruction of the demon *Triputra* a drop of perspiration fell from the forehead of *Īvara* through the hollow of a *Kadamba* tree, and assumed the form of a man with three eyes and four arms. He was accordingly called *Trinētra* or *Trilocana Kadamba*, became the founder of the *Kadamba* dynasty and erected near the *Sahya* mountain his capital *Vanarasi*, also known as *Jayanti-pura* or *Vayayanṭipura* ¹³⁸

Another tradition relates that he was the son of *Śiva* and *Parvatī*, who stayed for a certain period in the same mountain range, that he was born there eventually under a *Kadambatree*, whence the child obtained his name, and became a king in course of time.

These are the two most widely spread reports, but according to another a Brahman of *Yalgi* underwent a severe penance in order to become a king through the favor of *Madhukēśvara* ¹³⁹. His penance was graciously accepted, and a divine voice informed him that he would be reborn as a peacock, that the person who would eat his head would become a king, that those who would partake of his breast would become ministers, and that those who would feast on the remainder of his body would become treasurers. The Brahman satisfied with this promise, went to *Kāśī*, where he killed himself with a spear and was reborn as a peacock. In such a state he roamed about in the forest and announced

¹³⁷ See 'A Kadamba Inscription at Siddhāpur' by K. B. Pathak, s. a., in the *Indian Antiquary* vol. VI, p. 273. "The name of the family seems to have been written differently as *Kadamba*, *Kadamba* or *Kadamba*."

¹³⁸ Consult *Mackenzie MSS*, Kanarese No. "44, II pp. 203 seq., further H. H. Wilson's Introduction to *The Mackenzie Collection* pp. 1 ci., old edition, pp. 60-149, second edition Mr. Lewis Rice's *Mysore and Coorg*, vol. I pp. 193-194 II p. 357 and his *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. xxxiii.

¹³⁹ See *Mackenzie Manuscripts*, Kanarese No. 725 VI pp. 99-102 II II Wilson's *Mackenzie Collection* pp. ci-cii old edition pp. 149-150 new edition.

with a shrill voice that the person who would eat his head would become a king; until he fell into the hands of a gang of thieves, who were resting under a Kadamba tree. They killed the bird and asked a woman, *Pusparatī* by name, who was living near by, to cook the peacock and to distribute its flesh amongst them. While the woman was preparing the peacock, and the thieves were bathing, her son came home very hungry, and, as he wanted something to eat, his mother gave him the head of the bird in ignorance of what was in store for him who ate it. When he had eaten it, the thieves returned, partook of the remainder of the meat, but were astonished that after staying a while, none of them was proclaimed king. They fetched the woman; who, when hard pressed, told them what she had done, and that her son had eaten the head of the peacock. The thieves found that it was of no use to fight against destiny and submitted to their fate.

The king *Ānakapurandara* of Jayantipura had died at that very time without leaving any living issue behind and, as was the custom in these circumstances, the ministers let the state elephant loose with a watervessel containing holy water. While thus roaming about, he came to the spot in the forest near which the son of *Pusparatī* was living close to the Kadamba tree. The elephant bowed down to the youth, who ascended the animal and was carried by him to Jayantipura, where he was joyfully received, placed on the ^{king's} throne and anointed as king. He assumed hencefor^{188.} name *Mayūravarma* Kadamba and ruled for a long ^{uzzled} gloriously over the country. ^{multi-}

The election of a king is in Indian legends often entrusted ^{ikkh} to a state-elephant, and widely spread is also the belief that he who eats the head of a peacock becomes a king. The^o peacock is in Sanskrit called *Mayūra*, hence the name *Mayūratarma*, which the youth accepted. So far as the person and his origin are concerned, the two legends differ, as one refers to *Trinētra* and the other to *Mayūratarma*

Kadamba, but the *Kadamba* tree plays in both traditions a significant part.

As *Puspavati* prepared the food for the thieves of which her son partook, and which she distributed among the thieves, one may assume with good reason that she belonged to the same caste as the thieves who caught the peacock, and these people I feel inclined to identify with the *Kurumbas*. The peacock plays an important part in the account of the settlement of the *Kallas* in the *Kadambaranam* or *Kadambā-tar* of Madura. So far as the expression *thief* is concerned, it must not be forgotten that thieving or robbing was not considered disgraceful, if it was practised as a regular profession, just as *cattlelifting* did not in former times attach any stigma to those who indulged in it in the Highlands of Scotland.

The *Kadamba* tree, of which there exist various species, is much esteemed for its flowers which are sacred to the god *Skanda*, for its fragrant and highly esteemed powder which is used at religious ceremonies, for the juice which exudes from its stem, and for other reasons. Its name was spelt in various ways, *Kadamba* and *Kadamba*, and as it was originally an indigenous Indian plant, I presume that this term is also indigenous and Non-Aryan. I believe that the people and the dynasty, which we call *Kadambas*, were actually a branch of the *Kurumbas*, who had assumed a slightly modified designation by changing their name *Kurumba* into *killeumba*, and that the stories about the *Kadamba* tree are such notions of later times in order to explain the coincidence. —is hardly necessary to restate here the resemblance between the *a* and *u* sounds, and to mention that the *Kadamba* plant is in various places of India called *Kudumba*.¹⁰⁰

I have had occasion to allude to the peculiar mode of confederation prevalent among the *Kurumbas* and

¹⁰⁰ See the Rev. Dr. Morrison Winslow's *Tamil and English Dictionary*, p. 219, "*Kesempam*, *Kesempu*, a flower tree." It is sacred to *Skanda* who is called *Kesempam*. Madura is called *Kesemparagam* or *Kesempam*. On p

a similar institution is said to have existed among the Kadamhas.¹⁶¹

Yet, what seems to establish the original identity between the Kurumhas and the Kadambas, is the fact that the term *Kadamba* is actually found in Tamil as a synonymous and identical expression for *Kurumba*, though this circumstance has up to now escaped the notice it really deserves.¹⁶²

236 we find "*Katampam, Katampus, the Kadamba tree*" In the common vernacular the Kadamba tree is often called *Kudumbu*, in Hindustani and Bengal it is known as *Kudum* — Toddy is made from certain Kadamba trees, and the Marathas make mead from the Kadamba (*Anthocephalus Cadamba*). Compare Dr Dymock's *Anthropogonic Trees, Bombay Anthropological Journal*, vol I, p 301 Párvati (or Durgā) likes to dwell in the tree Mr. Lewis Rice says on p xxxiii in his *Mysore Inscriptions* that "the Kadamba tree appears to be one of the palms from which toddy is extracted" The *Vishnupurāṇa* (see H H Wilson's translation edited by Fitzedward Hall, vol V, pp 65, 66) reports, that "Varuṇa, in order to provide for his (Śeṣa's) recreation, said to (his wife) Vārūṇī (the goddess of wine) 'Then, Madirā, art ever acceptable to the powerful Ananta Go, therefore, auspicious and kind goddess, and promote his enjoyments' Obeying these commands, Vārūṇī went and established herself in the hollow of a Kadamba tree in the woods of Vrindāvana Baladeva, roaming about (came there, and), smelling the pleasant fragrance of liquor, resumed his ancient passion for strong drink. The holder of the ploughshare, observing the vinous drops distilling from the Kadamba tree, was much delighted, (and gathered) and quaffed them along with the herdsmen and the Gopis, whilst those who were skilful with voice and lute celebrated him in their songs Being inebriated (with the wine), and the drops of perspiration standing like pearls upon his limbs, he called out, not knowing what he said" (In a note to this is said "Kadambari is one of the synonyms of wine or spirituous liquor The grammarians, however, also derive the word from some legend, stating it to be so called, because it was produced from the hollow of a Kadamba-tree on the Gomanta mountain") According to the *Bhagavata* the Kadamba-tree was placed on Supārśva, see *Vishnupurāṇa*, vol II, p 116 In the *Sanskrit Dictionary* of Professors Böhtlingk and Roth we read in vol. I, p 211 "*Kadambara* ein aus den Blumen der *Naucllea Cadamba* bereitetes berauschendes Getränk, न मयभेद, H (ēmacandra) an. Med f ‡ dress und A K 2, 10, 40 H 902, the rain-water which collects in clefts and hollow places of the tree (*Naucllea Cadamba*) when the flowers are in perfection, and which is supposed to be impregnated with the honey, Carey bei Haughton कदम्बकोठरे जाता नाथा कादम्बरीति सा Hariv. 5417, fg"

¹⁶¹ See p 259

¹⁶² I have elsewhere pointed out the circumstance that the name of the rude and cruel Kurumbas was used in some South Indian Languages as an expression for cruelty, so that *Kurumban* denotes in Tamil —

At a much later period we find the Kadambas connected with the last great dynasty of Southern India, the Rijas of Vijayanagara. The founders of this kingdom are also said to have been Kurumbas. If the first family of the Vijayanagara kings were Kurumbas, and on the other hand related to the once famous, but then decayed though not extinct royal house of the Kadambas of Tuluva, historical evidence, however slight, would have been adduced to establish the connection between the Kurumbas and the Kadambas, and this connection is in its turn supported by philological proof of the original identity of their names.¹⁶³

I have thus in the preceding pages given an account of those more important sections of the Gaudian population whose identification offered the least difficulty, and who from time immemorial have occupied an acknowledged position among the inhabitants of India.

I have shown, moreover, that these Gaudians form together with the Dravidians the Gauda Dravidian race, and

a savage a stubborn fellow, and *kurumbu* (or *kurumbuttanam*) barbarity, insolence and wickedness. The same word undergoes a slight alteration, of *u* being changed into *a* so that *Kadamba* signifies in both these languages an *unruly fellow* and so Dr Winslow's Dictionary we find on p 219 *கடம்பர்* (Katampar) & Unruly persons *கும்பர்* (Kurumpar). The only explanation of the name *Kadamba* I remember to have seen is contained in Mr Griggs' *Manual of the Nilagiri District* where in note 1 on p 208 he asks: May not this word (*kadamba*) be a compound of *katu* or *kātam* (both meaning forest) and *kurumba* and perhaps be the same as *kad kurumba*?

¹⁶³ See *The Macleenzie Collection* Introduction p civ, new edition pp 61, 62. There is little doubt also that the first princes of Vijayanagar were descended from a Tuluva family of ancient origin and power whose dominions extended towards the western sea. Whether they were connected with the Kadamba family does not appear, but that this race continued to hold possessions in *Aernala* till near their time is proved by grants at *Banavasi*, *Satanur*, and *Golernam* dated in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries by *Kalamba* kings. Compare also Mr Lewis Rice's *Mysore and Coorg* vol III, p 98. In 1336 was founded the city of Vijayanagar, whose princes are said to have derived their origin from the Kadambas.

PART III.

INDIAN THEOGONY

CHAPTER XIII

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

IN the two previous parts my researches concerning the Original Inhabitants of India proceeded from a linguistic point of view, I shall now endeavour to prove that the conclusions I arrived at from philological evidence can be supported by, as it were, a theological enquiry. Though the main subject of these researches refers to the non Aryan population of this country, I have as an introduction also to consider portions of the Aryan Indian theogony, as both the Aryan and the non Aryan have eventually blended into one.

The Sanskrit works which in particular contain accounts of such a nature are the Vedas, more especially the Rgveda, the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyana, the Purāṇas and the Dharmasāstras. The Rgveda which supplies us with the most ancient description of the religious and domestic life of the Aryan invaders of India, and which on account of the sacred character of its hymns has been invested with a supernatural origin, contains the oldest, and as such the most important information, of this kind. The knowledge we derive from it is, however, of a very vague and obscure nature. The accounts preserved in the Mahābhārata, Rāmāyana, Purāṇas and Law books refer to a later period, and are obscured by a legendary veil which renders their explanation difficult.

The Veda contains a collection of ancient verses composed by different authors at various times for sundry purposes

It is extant in four different *Sambhitas* or texts. The *Rgveda* contains the *recs* or verses arranged according to the hymns, to which they belong. They are recited by the *Hōtr* priests, and must be regarded as the literary legacy bequeathed by their forefathers to the present Aryan population of India. The separate verses of the *Rgveda* hymns are compiled in the *Samaveda* without any internal connection and are subject to musical modifications. the *Udgātr* priests sing these *saman* or songs at the *Sōma* offering. The same verses are re arranged into *yajum* or prayers, and are with a peculiar intonation muttered by the *Adhvaryu* priests of the *Yajurveda*, of which two recensions exist, the *Kṛṣṇa*, the black or unarranged, and the *Sukla*, the white or cleansed *Yajurveda*. The verses of these three Vedic compilations are known as *mantra*. The *Atharva-* or *Brahma-veda* is the fourth *Veda* and consists mostly of popular incantations, some of which can justly lay claim to great antiquity, as they have been found also among the legendary lore of other Aryan tribes. It is ascribed to the priest *Atharvan*. The verses of this *Veda* rank more as *Tantra* than *Mantra*. While the hymns of the *Rgveda* and of the *Atharvaveda* possess, besides their poetic and religious value, a high importance as historical documents, the liturgical element prevails in both the *Samaveda* and *Yajurveda*. The latter, however, attained in subsequent times such a popularity, that the *Taittirīyopaniṣad* likens the four *Vedas* to a bird, in which the *Yajurveda* forms the head, the *Rg-* and *Samaveda* respectively the right and left wings, and the *Atharvaveda* the tail.

It is hardly reasonable to suppose that man in his earliest stage should have possessed sufficient aptitude and leisure to consider the obscure problem of creation. Wherever therefore we find in olden times, or amidst hitherto unknown people, an account of the creation, we may safely ascribe such an account to a subsequent period when the conditions

when the period of their ascendancy had expired, and the very term *asura* became identical with demon, and how Brahman (Brahmā), the creative deity of the Indian cosmogony, was deposed from his throne, was reduced to a comparatively insignificant place in the Trimūrti, and nearly altogether lost his ascendancy as a propitiating deity.

The rapturous enunciations of enthusiastic bards, enunciations which, in course of time, often develop into religious tenets, as mighty forest trees arise from tiny seeds, should neither be undervalued as indications of poetic eminence or of intellectual power, nor overrated as religious inspirations of supreme value. A too high theological importance has, in my opinion, been attributed by some European Sanskritists to the comparatively few celebrated Vedic hymns which contain an allusion to the creation of the world and to its creator, an estimation which in this country has been readily accepted and has led to some peculiar conclusions concerning the ancient Aryan religion.

The overpowering impression which the elementary forces of nature produce on the minds of simple but susceptible people is manifested by the worship they offer to these powers individually. From the nucleus of these deified elements arise at a later period the complicated pantheons of the various polytheistic religions. The ancient Aryans offer no exception to this general rule. The natural origin of their gods is manifested by the ancient songs of the Vēda, which display the worship of the physical forces.

VEDIC DEITIES.

. I shall give in the following discussion a cursory account of the most important Vedic deities. The Vedic theogony has been described at length by many eminent European scholars, so that I need not dilate on it here, especially as an exhaustive treatise on it does not come within the range of this discussion.

The Vedic poets assumed the existence of three great spheres the heaven (*div*), the atmosphere (*antariksa*), and the earth (*prithu bhumi*, &c) The atmosphere lies between heaven and earth, and these two together are called *rodasi* Heaven and earth are each subdivided into three spheres, those of the earth being called *param*, *madhyama* and *atama bhumi* The earth, or rather its spirit, is generally invoked together with heaven

Varuna occupies in the *Rgveda* the highest position He resides in the heavens high above all gods Like other gods he is styled an *Asura*, or Lord, and he is most probably identical with the *Ahura Mazda* of the *Zend Avesta* He is the chief among the *Adityas*, or the sons of *Aditi* He is the surrounder of the firmament the *Uranos* of the Greek, and became subsequently the god of the sea He has spread the stars on high and the earth below, he fixed the Seven Stars in the sky, he constructed the path of the sun, the moon moves according to his laws, he made the long nights follow the days Like *Indra* he is addressed as the supreme deity, for the divine *Varuna* is called the king of all, both of gods and of men, and *Indra* and *Varuna* together made by their power all the creatures of the world He is also often associated with *Mitra*, when the latter is regarded as presiding over the day and *Varuna* over the night *Mitra* is identical with the Iranian sun god *Mithra*, and another brother of *Varuna*, the *Aditya Bhaga* becomes the Slavonic supreme god *Boj*

Surya, the sun, resides in the sky, and forms with *Agni* and *Indra* or *Vayu* the triad of the Vedic etymologists He enlivens all that live in the morning and sends them to rest in the evening The praises of *Surya* *Sura* or *Savitr*, the genitor, are through the famous *Gajatri* daily sung by

The number of the *Adityas* varies Besides *Varuna* are generally mentioned *Mitra* *Aryaman* *Indra* *Bhaga* *Daksa* *Amsa* *Savitr* and

millions of worshippers² *Pusan* is likewise worshipped as a solar deity or an *Aditya*. His name signifies nonrisher, he is the protector of the paths frequented by men, he is the herdsman who drives the cattle with an ox goad, and he rides on a goat. He is the lover of his sister *Suryā*, and assists the day to alternate with night.

Viṣṇu, the pervader, is also a Solar deity in the Veda. Although he does not occupy a predominant position, he appears as the friend of *Indra*, or as the god who strode over the seven regions of the earth and planted his step in the three spheres of the universe.

Uṣas or the morning dawn, the daughter of heaven and the sister of the *Adityas* as well as of the night, is likewise worshipped. She illustrates by her regular appearance the passing away of generations of men and the continuity of divine institutions. The two *Asvins*, the divine charioteers, who sparkle with perpetual youth and are full of strength and of vigour, the *Dioskouroi* of the Greek, precede the dawn. They protect men, they heal the ailing and help the distressed, especially when exposed to danger at sea. *Saranyu* is mentioned as their mother.

The moon and the planets are not enrolled in the Veda among deities. The moon is still known as *Candramas* and not as *Soma*, nor is *Brhaspati* (*Brahmanaspati*) identified with the planet Jupiter. The Great Bear is mentioned among the stars which are fixed in the sky, and which are occasionally assigned to celebrated saints as mansions.

Indra the mighty sovereign of the atmosphere, is the god of the shining sky, who fixes the earth and supports the firmament. He defeats the demons in the sky and on earth, and *Vṛtra*, the serpent *Ahi*, and *Bala* are thus conquered by him. He protects mankind and vouchsafes refreshing rain to man and beast. His greatness transcends

² Rgveda III 62 10 Tat Savitur varenyam bhargo devasya dhimahi
dhiyo yo nah pracodayat

the sky and the earth and surpasses the atmosphere; no one, whether god or daring mortal, can resist his command and empire. He eventually supersedes Varuṇa, and takes his place at the head of the gods. He manifests himself in the thunderstorm, and his divine weapon is the thunderbolt. He supports the heroes in battle, swings his club, and heavy potations of Sōma give him additional strength.

Vāyu, the wind (also called *Vāta*), is associated with Indra, and is often mentioned as dwelling in the atmosphere in Indra's place. The first draught of Sōma is presented to him. The wind god *Vāta* has been identified with the old Teutonic god *Wotan* (*Wodan*) or *Odin*.

To Indra's or Vāyu's sphere belong likewise the winds. The winds *κατ' ἐξοχήν* are collectively personified in Vāyu, or individually appear as the *Maruts*. They are the gods of the thunderstorm. The Maruts are also called the sons of *Rudra* and of *Prṣni*. They follow Indra to the battle. The term *Rudra*, roaring, tawny-coloured, is as an epithet applied in the R̥gveda to different gods, e.g., to Agni, or it is used as the name of a separate deity, to whom as such are dedicated special hymns. He carries the lightning in his arm, and throws it as an arrow. He is the ruler of heroes, the fulfiller of sacrifice. His protection is required for men and for beasts, he heals the sick, destroys the wicked, but his anger must be pacified. At a later period Śiva, the propitious, is identified with Rudra, but Śiva is nowhere mentioned in the R̥gveda, and Rudra is still everywhere subordinate to Indra.

The rain god or thunder god *Parjanya* belongs likewise to this sphere, and he is the same as the Lithuanian god of thunder *Perkunas*.

Agni, the god of fire, who resides on the earth, is the first in the triad of Vedic gods. Though residing now on the earth, he came originally from heaven, from which *Atharvan* or *Mātariśvan* carried him as a gift of the gods,

and not by fraud as the Greek Prometheus had done. As lightning breaking through the rain cloud, Agni is called the son of water. In fact Agni lives in all the three spheres, as sun in the sky, as lightning in the atmosphere, and as fire on the earth. He is not worshipped in temples made by the hands of men, but under the open sky, and the holy fire is produced at his worship by rubbing a stick of the *Asvattha* tree against a stem taken from the *Samī* tree. He is the pervading life of the world, he remains young, because he is always renewed, he is the priest, the *purohita* or *ṛtviṣ* of the sacrifice, which, as the first *Rsi*, he offers to the gods. He purifies men, confers on them wealth, and protects them from their enemies, especially from the demoniac *Rākṣasas*, whom he burns and whose castles he breaks down. Thus he becomes the most popular god amongst men.

Though Varuna and Indra are often extolled as the mightiest gods, the Veda does not contain a classification of the gods according to their rank, a classification which it would have been difficult to establish, for the gods did not, as I have already observed, retain everywhere the same position, a fact exemplified by Indra, who himself, as he loses his eminence eventually becomes the leader of the minor gods. In the Zend Avesta Indra or Andra is even turned into a bad demon.

The number of the gods is in the Rgveda generally fixed at thirty-three, and in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa 8 Vasus, 11 Rudras, and 12 Adityas are enumerated, besides heaven and sky. In the Rgveda itself these thirty-three gods are classed in three groups, each containing eleven gods, who dwell respectively in the sky, air, and earth. As a thirty-fourth god *Prajapati* is occasionally mentioned. Moreover, some well known deities, as, *e g*, Agni, the Asvins, the Maruts, Usas and others are not included in these lists, so that the number 33 or 34 is by no means sufficient. Some

hymns indeed allude to far greater numbers, when Agni, e.g., is said to be worshipped by three thousand three hundred thirty and nine gods.³

Another division of the gods is into great and small, young and old.

The Vedic gods lost in course of time their ascendancy, and though Indra retained it longest, he was with some of his former colleagues relegated to the guardianship of a quarter of the world. He was posted to the east, while Agni went to the south-east, Yama to the south, Nirrti to the south-west, Varuna to the west, Vāyu or Marut to the north-west, Kūlēra (who does not appear in the R̥gvēda) to the north, and Īśāna or Śiva to the north-east.

Yama, the son of Vivasvat and Saranyū, appears as the first man who died. He became the king of the dead spirits, who wandered to him after death. He is united with the gods, who think with him under a leafy tree, and is worshipped as a god. His sister is Yamī. He corresponds to the Iranian Yima who appears in the later legend as king Jamshīd. The Persian hero Feridun is thus the representative of the Iranian Thraētaona (Thrita), who is identical with the Vedic deity Trita Āptya.

ON VEDIC CREATION.

In course of time the belief in the power of the gods as representing physical forces declined, and the mind of thinkers began to ponder over the mystery of creation. The Rg-Vēda does not admit one universally adopted cosmogonic system, such as we find in the Bible. Well-known is the one expounded in the famous Puruṣasūkta. However, this hymn, though proclaiming the origin of the four castes,

³ In P̥gvēda III, 9, 9 are mentioned 3332 gods (t-īai śata trīśaśa-ranyagāim trimsacca d vā nava cāśaparyan). This number which may have probably been formed by adding 33 + 303 + 3003. See the *Aitareya Brahmanam*, edited by Martin Haug, Ph. D., Vol II, p. 212; Bombay, 1863.

hardly enters into the cosmogonic origin of the world. Moreover, it is of a comparatively late date, and its importance is thus much diminished. On the other hand, the Rg-Veda represents too early a period for broaching cosmogonic topics which were afterwards amply and even *ad nauseam* discussed in the Pauranic literature.

Many different gods are, as we have seen, in their turn extolled as supreme and praised as the framers and rulers of the world. However, *Prajapati*, *Hiranyagarbha*, *Visvakarman* or *Brahmanaspati* appear in the Veda especially as creators of the universe. Most celebrated among the Vedic creation hymns is the 129th of the 10th book, a poem which has been repeatedly edited and translated since the time of Colebrooke. The 121st hymn of the same mandala possesses also great beauty and high poetic merit. It is addressed to *Hiranyagarbha*, the golden embryo. As the poet asks at the end of each verse "To what god may we offer sacrifice (*kasmai devāya haviṣa vidhema*)", the creator is also called *Ka*, Who, the nominative of *kasmai*.

Where such a variety of opinions exists, it is too much to expect that the various legends concerning the creation and the creator should agree, and indeed we find considerable discrepancies among them. Even in principle they differ, for we find creation arising from *nought*, or from *aught*, or from *emanation*. These legends concerning the creation, however, initiate a new era of thought and reflection and as such they claim our attention.

According to one legend the universe did not originally exist. *Indra*, the middle breath, kindled with his strength the other worn out breaths or *Rsis*. He was called the kindler (*Indha*), because he kindled them. And *Indha* is called secretly *Indra*. The thus kindled gods created seven males, but as these seven males could not generate, the gods turned them into one. This male became *Prajapati*, who created

the Vēda by his austere penance, and the waters from his speech. He pervaded all and desired to be reproduced from the waters. An egg arose and the triple science, the *trayī vidyā*, was created.⁴

This account, which peculiarly enough gives a two-fold creation of the Vēda, is at variance with another found in the same Brāhmana, which states that only the waters were at the beginning of the universe, and a golden egg was created when the waters desired to be reproduced. This egg moved about for a year, after which time a male, *purusa*, appeared; this was Prajāpati. As he had no other home, he remained in this egg for another year, when he desired to speak. He said *bhūr*, which became the earth, *bhuvāh*, which became the firmament, and *star*, which became the sky. As he desired offspring, he created with his mouth the gods (*dēvāh*), who became such on reaching the sky, *dīam*. Meanwhile it became daylight (*dīnā*). From his lower breath he created the Asuras, who assumed this state when they reached this earth. Darkness then set in, and with it Evil. After this he created Agni, Indra, Soma and Paramēsthin, as well as Vāyu, Candramas, and Usas. In consequence he is the progenitor of both the gods and the Asuras, and is also called so. He is likewise said to have assumed the shape of a tortoise in order to create progeny, as he made (*akarōt*) what he created, the word *kūrma*, tortoise, is derived from the Sanskrit root *kr*, to make.⁵ Tradition also accused him of having conceived, to the great indignation of the gods, an unholy passion for his daughter, said to have been either the sky or the dawn, and from their bodies was formed Rudra, who, as Paśupati, pierced Prajāpati.

A great change in religious feeling and in civil life was meanwhile slowly taking place among the Aryans when

⁴ See Satapatha Brāhmana, VI, 1, 1.

⁵ Do. VII, 4, 3 and XI, 1, 6.

they spread eastwards towards the plains of Hindustan and settled in large towns. Former shepherds and husbandmen, by becoming inmates of towns, altered their mode of life and became artisans and traders. New interests, and with them new divisions, arose and began to keep asunder the different branches of the population, which divisions, though originally only temporary, developed into permanent institutions and laid the foundation of the strict regulations of Hindu caste. The development of caste was greatly fostered by the fact that two rival and hostile races, the Aryan and the Gauda-Dravidian, occupied the country, and that the ruling nation aimed at intensifying and perpetuating this racial distinction. The priestly class profited most by such an arrangement, and the framing of the religious precepts and of the civil laws was left to their initiative. The priest not only framed the statutes, but also superintended their observance with the help of the regal power, which he upheld for this very reason. The Brāhman priest became the supreme head of the community, and though this power was not vested in one individual, but in the whole caste as an individual, it was not the less influential. The priest was the performer of the sacrifice, and assumed the power to make it acceptable to the gods or not, and as the gods depended on the Brāhman priests for their sacrifices, their power extended even over the gods, and the Brāhmins became the real gods, and the legislator Manu could say that a Brāhman becomes by his birth the deity of the gods. Under these circumstances the religious enthusiasm of the birds of the R̥gveda gave way to the theological meditations of the Yajurveda, the Vēda of the sacrificial prayer, when this prayer had lost its fervour, and had sunk to mere formulas, which had to be strictly observed. This prayer in its abstract form, or the neutral Brāhman, grew eventually from the Ātman into the *Paratman* (*Paramatman*) or Supreme Spirit, and

developed in time into the male god Brahman, who occupied the high throne to which gods and men had recourse in their troubles, and who advised and cheered them as a grandfather his grandchildren. The divine Asuras of the Rgvēda became the demons of the Yajurvēda, Visnu came more to the fore, and Śiva made his appearance in the Yajurvēda.

Prajāpati too, the creator of the universe, with its gods, demons, men, beasts, trees, and other matter, merges gradually into the person of Brahman, who though originally unconnected with, and superior to, either Visnu or Rudra, eventually forms with them the Trimūrti.

THE TRIMURTI.

It is a peculiar coincidence that the two great doctrines of the Trinity and the Transmigration of souls should have appeared in India, so far as we can judge, at about the same period; and so long after both had been known to the two leading nations of antiquity, the Chaldeans and Egyptians. The Chaldean triad, formed of the gods Anu, Bel, and Ea, the representatives of heaven, the lower world, and the water; the old Akkadian trinity composed of the divine father, mother, and their son, the Sun god; or the Egyptian solar triads of Tum, Ra, and Kheper, or of Osiris, Isis, and Horus are too well known to require explanation. It may be interesting to add here, that the Hindu Trimūrti has been also explained as a representation of the three great powers of nature exemplified by the earth, the water, and the fire, and that the Indian sect of the Sauras revere the rising meridian and setting sun, corresponding to Brahman, Śiva and Visnu respectively, as symbol of the Trimūrti. Similarly well known is the migration which the souls of the deceased Egyptians had to undergo to expiate the crimes they had committed while alive, until they could regain their human body and be united with

Osiris In fact this final union with and absorption in *Osiris* shows a striking resemblance to the absorption in the Brahmanic *Parātman* or the Buddhistic *Buddha*. As I do not believe *Buddha* to have been an Aryan Indian, this question is of importance. It is highly probable that these Indian dogmas did not originate with the Aryans of India and that they can be traced back directly or indirectly to those ancient countries. It is also possible that because these doctrines were not previously unknown in India they could be more easily spread in this country for the vast majority of the Indian population belonged to the same race as did the ancient Akkadians and Chaldeans. It seems to me to be a matter of great regret that while the antique religious and civil history of India have often been discussed, no notice has been taken of the bulk of its population, in consequence the results of the researches on these points have not been very satisfactory.

CHAPTER XIV

ON BRAHMAN

The legends concerning *Prajapati* and *Brahman* have often a striking resemblance, and the latter occupies eventually the position of the former. *Brahman* was born in a golden egg and arose from the waters. At the time of the deluge he assumed the form of a fish and as a boar he raised the earth from the waters. To him belonged originally the name of *Nīrāyana*, which was afterwards applied to *Viṣṇu*. As creator he became the head of the *Trimurti*, a dogma probably unknown to *Yāskn*, but already discussed at the time of *Buddha*, though finally developed at a subsequent period. His colleagues in the trinity, expressed by the mystic syllable *Ōm*, are *Viṣṇu* and *Śiva*. These three gods are respectively regarded as the representatives of the three natural qualities (*gunas*), *sattva*, goodness, *rajas*,

passion, and *tamas*, darkness Brahman represents *rajas*, the creating power, Visnu preserves by *sattva* goodness or indifference, and Rudra or Agni filled with *tamas* personates time or the destroyer Yet, as creation involves preservation and destruction, and as each is indispensable to the other, true Brahmanism does not admit that any one member of the trinity is superior to the others No man should attempt to create a division between the three gods, who does so goes to Hell Indeed some go further and assert that whichever of the three is Visnu is at the same time Siva and Brahman, and that any one of the three gods reciprocally includes the remaining two ⁶

In consequence of his abstract origin and philosophical appearance and through his position of creator, Brahman always lacked the popularity which was enjoyed by his more attractive colleagues In the Mahabharata however, Brahman is still the creator of the world he is eternal, sacred, and omniscient he teaches advises and governs the gods He regulates all institutions and arranges the

* Compare such well known verses as *Atayor antaram naat śabdair anyā r jagatpate* or *Svaya Visanrupaya Svarupaya Visuave* or *Tram evanyo Svoktena m rgeṇa Svar p nam bahvacarya vibhedena Bhagavan samupisate* (Bhagavata)

See also *Deśbhagavata* III 6, 54—56

- 54 *Ye v bhedaṁ kariṣyanti m nava m bhacetasaḥ
nirayan te gamiṣyanti vibhed nnatra samsayah*
55 *Yo Har ḥ sa divaḥ sakṣat ya Ś vaḥ sa svayam Harḥ
etayor bhedaṁ at sṭhan narakaya bhavet narah*
56 *Tatha va Drah no jneyo natra larya v cārana
aparo guabhedo stī sṭnu V so bravim t*

One of the three qualities prevails in each god the other two are subordinated thus *rajas* does prevail in Brahman *sattva* in Visnu and *tamas* in Siva Compare *ibidem* śl 57 and 66

- 57 *Mukhyaḥ sattvaguṇaḥ te stu paramatmaiva ntane
gaucatve p paran lhyatan rajoguṇatamogunam*
66 *Mukhyaḥ tamogunaste stu gaunau sattvarajoguṇau* (apply ng to S va)

See further *ibidem* ślokas 32 39 and 41

rules concerning sacrifice and penance, marriage and caste, and the position of kings and subjects

Notwithstanding that Brahman was originally superior both to Viṣṇu and to Śiva, who as Rudra sprang, according to a legend, from the forehead of Brahman, the adherents of these gods deny his supremacy. Yet, it is difficult to arrive at a final decision on this subject as the legendary evidence is so defective. Brahman is thus represented as rising from the lotus which grew from the navel of Viṣṇu, while the worshippers of Śiva contend that Brahman was created by Śiva, that he acted as Śiva's charioteer and worships Śiva and the Linga. At another time he interfered in a dispute between Viṣṇu and Rudra, and persuaded the excited gods to allow Śiva a share at the sacrifices. The Prajapatis, whose names and number are variously recorded, are known as his mind-born sons, and appear to be identical with the ten Maharsis. These latter are mentioned as the progenitors of men while the Puruṣasūktā gives another account of this subject.

Vac, Speech, his daughter, became the object of his love and as *Sarasvatī* his wife.⁷ In fact this sinful attachment of Brahman became the doom of his supremacy, and caused the ascendancy of Viṣṇu and Śiva. By gazing intently at his charming daughter, he obtained five heads, but lost the topmost for this unchaste love by the hand of Śiva, and is henceforth called the four faced or *caturmukha*. His four heads, each of which wears a crown, are also explained as corresponding to the four Vedas. On his forehead he has the mark of mṁsk (*kasturī*), in his hairlocks

⁷ *Sarasvatī* is described in *Devībhagavata* III, 6 31—35 and in IX, 1 29—37. Another wife of Brahman *Savitṛī* is by some regarded as the deified sacred prayer which is known as the *Gayatrī*, (*Rgveda* III, 62, 10), about *Savitṛī* read also *Devībhagavata* IX, 1, 33—43. *Sarasvatī* is called in the *Vajayanti*, p. 3, line 18. *Vag Vani Bhārati Bhāṣa Gaur Gīr Brahmi Sarasvatī*.

he wears strings of pearls, in his front hands he wears respectively the Veda, a sacrificial ladle, a rosary, and an earthen waterpot. His colour is tawny. He sits on a lotus, and rides on a swan. Many names are given to Brahman and according to his worshippers he also possesses a thousand names*. I need not add that these legends are also explained from an esoteric standpoint.

With these few remarks concerning the earlier accounts of Brahman, I shall now pass to his present position. Many of the legends concerning all these three gods of the Trimurti are of ancient origin, while others certainly point to a more modern invention. In some cases it may be possible to explain their source and to account for their *raison d'être*. As India has since time immemorial been chiefly peopled with two races, the Gauda Dravidian and the Aryan, we need not wonder that, when these two began to intermix, each became acquainted with the religious beliefs of their neighbours and adopted in a more or less modified form some of their gods and dogmas. This circumstance explains the fact why so many Gauda Dravidian elements are found in the modern Hindu worship.

And such an influence we can also trace in the modern worship of Brahman. I have previously mentioned that he lost his fifth face on account of his unnatural conduct towards his daughter, but later legends contend, that it was at the instigation of Parvati, who could not distinguish

* In the *Vaijayaniti* p. 5 are given the following lines

Brahma Vāṇijīḥ Vāṇīma Dīptiḥ Śrāṇī Prajāpatih
 Hiranyagarbho Drūṇīma Vāṇīdīpī Kalī Caturmukhaḥ
 Pāṇīma Saurajyaḥ Śrāṇī Cārajyaḥ Saṇṭānaḥ
 Śatīma Śatīdātā Śrīdīpī Śvayambhūḥ Sarvatomukhaḥ
 Iśānaśīḥ Vāṇīdīpī Puruṣaḥ Hanuśānaḥ

Other names are Abjayas, Ajā, Ananta, Atmabhī, Caturvaktra, Jagatvaṇī, Jagan, Jananāyaka, Kamalāsana, Lokakarī, Lokakṣī, Lokasā, Pāṇīma, Sarvalokakarī, Śivatrīpati, Vāṇī Vidī, Vāṇīśrī, Vāṇīśa, &c. The Buddha is called him also Śatāmpati.

Brahman from her own five-faced husband, or because Brahman told a lie. He is therefore now generally represented with four faces.⁹ The Skandapurana relates that Śiva cursed Brahman for his untruthful assertion of having seen the end of Śiva, and for producing in confirmation of this lie a Ketaki flower as a witness. The original judgment that Brahman was henceforth nowhere to be worshipped was on Brahman's appeal mitigated, and his worship was allowed on all auspicious occasions, and at all initiatory ceremonies and Soma sacrifices.¹⁰

PRESENT WORSHIP OF BRAHMAN

In consequence of the disgrace he incurred, as is now generally averred, or perhaps owing to his abstract and unapproachable position as creator, Brahman does not receive anything like the attention which is paid to Viṣṇu and Śiva. There exists also a proverb among the people that a man who has no house, says "I have no house like Brahman." On the other hand it is a peculiar circumstance worth mentioning that the principal festival of every temple

⁹ See beginning of note 16 on page 297

¹⁰ The curse was *Yatra ketrīpīloka smin apījyō bhava padmaja*
This was modified to
Subhāryeṣu sarveṣu pratidīkṣādhvareṣu ca,
Pūjyō bhava, caturvakra, madhava nanyatha bhavet

In consequence Brahman is revered as guardian of the sacrifice at all *yagas*, *vratas*, marriages, funerals and annual ceremonies during the preliminary ceremonies. The real proceedings begin after Brahman has been worshipped with the words *Brahmānam tām cchinmake*. The Brahman who acts as Brahman is provided with a seat and betel-nut flowers, sandal and cloths are presented to him but no incense is burnt in his favor, nor are lamps lighted, nor eatables presented, nor are fans, umbrellas, camphor, mirrors or flags allowed. The presence of Brahman who must be represented by a Brahman who knows the Veda, is necessary in order to superintend and help the *Purohita* in the correct recital of the mantras and the upkeep of the fire. In fact Brahman is the guardian of the sacrifice.

Śiva also cursed the Ketaki flower, but this curse concerns only Śiva, for the flower is still worshipped in honor of Viṣṇu, Lakṣmī, and even of Parvati.

is called Brahmōtsava. It is moreover wrong to assert that Brahman is only revered in one place in the whole of India, *i.e.*, near the Pushkar lake in Ajmere. The local legend there says, that the god Brahman left once his Satyaloka to perform a sacrifice in this mundane region, but forgot to invite his consort Sarasvatī. Enraged at this discourtesy she did not follow her husband. When Brahman had finished all the necessary preparations and was ready to perform the Sankalpa, while the gods and Rsis stood before the sacrificial fire he observed to his surprise that his wife was not present. As the priests refused to go on with the sacrifice, because Brahman had not his wife by his side Brahman requested Indra to fetch as quickly as possible, an unmarried girl to take the place of his wife. Indra returned with a Sādra girl, whom Brahman purified by letting her pass from the mouth through the alimentary canal of the celestial cow *Kumadhenu*. He then called her Gayatī, made her his partner and performed the sacrifice. Opposite to the temple of Brahman lies a large and deep tank whose waters are credited with miraculous qualities. If the shadow of a woman falls during her menstrual period on the waters of this tank (*Pushkara*), it turns red and keeps this colour until purified by mantras. Brahman is in this place worshipped by his thousand names and the same formalities which are observed in the temples of Viṣṇu and Śiva are also adhered to in this temple of Brahman.¹¹

¹¹ This report was communicated to me indirectly by a Brahman who had visited Pushkar. See *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* by Lieut Colonel James Tod London 1809 Vol I pp 73—75. Pushkar is the most sacred lake in India that of Manasarvar in Tibet may alone compete with it in this respect. By far the most conspicuous edifice is the shrine of the creator Brahma. This is the sole tabernacle dedicated to the One God which I ever saw or heard of in India. The statue is quadriferous and what struck me as not a little curious was that the shrine or pinnacle of the temple is surmounted by a cross. I read also the *Rajputana*

It is very peculiar that this renowned and ancient place of worship is connected like the temples at Melkōta, Puri,

Gazetteer, Vol II pp 67—71, which contains a full description of the legend, from it I have extracted the following "Pushkar is a celebrated place of pilgrimage, and the great sanctity of its lake equalled, according to Colonel Tod, only by that of Manasarowar in Thibet, is due to the belief that here Brahma performed the *yajna* and that the Sarasvatī here reappears in five streams. The legends connected with these two beliefs may be found in the *Pushkar Mahatmya* of the *Padma Purana*. Brahma was perplexed as to where he should perform the sacrifice according to the Vedas, as he had no temple on earth like other deities. As he reflected, the lotus fell from his hand, and he determined to perform his sacrifice wherever it fell. The lotus, rebounding, struck the earth in three places. Water issued from all three, and Brahma, descending, called the name of the place Pushkar, after the lotus (the holy ground extends for one *yojan* round the largest lake, called Jyeshth Pushkar. The second lake is the Madhya Pushkar, near the tank, now called Suda Pā. The third lake is the Kaniṣṭh Pushkar, which is now generally called Burka Pushkar. The middle lake is very small, and there are no buildings round it or round the third lake.) Brahma then collected all the gods, and on the 11th day of the bright half of Kṛtik, everything was ready. Each god and *rishi* had his own special duty assigned to him, and Brahma stood with a jar of amrit on his head. The sacrifice, however, could not begin until Savitṛi appeared, and she refused to come without Lakṣmī, Parvatī and Indrānī, whom Pūṣan had been sent to summon. On hearing of her refusal, Brahma became enraged and said to Indra "Search me out a girl that I may marry her and commence the sacrifice, for the jar of amrit weighs heavy on my head." Indra accordingly went, but found none except a *Gujar's* daughter whom he purified by passing her through the body of a cow, and then, bringing her to Brahma, told what he had done. Vishnu observed—"Brahmans and cows are in reality identical, you have taken her from the womb of a cow, and this may be considered a second birth." Shiva added that, as she had passed through a cow, she should be called Gayatrī. The Brahmanas agreed that the sacrifice might now proceed, and Brahma, having married Gayatrī and having enjoined silence on her, placed on her head the jar of amrit, and the *yajna* commenced. (The image of Gayatrī may be seen in the temple of Brahma, close to that of Brahma himself.) The sacrifice, however, was soon interrupted by a naked man who appeared crying 'Atmat! Atmat!' and who, at the instigation of Shiva, threw a skull into the sacrificial ground. When it was attempted to remove the skull, two appeared in its place, and the whole ground gradually became covered with skulls, till Shiva, at Brahma's request, finally agreed to remove them on condition that he should have a temple at Pushkar, there to be worshipped under the name of Atmaheswar.

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Meanwhile a number of Brahmans, all ugly men, arrived from the Dakhin. As they bathed in the lake, their forms changed into those of handsome men; and the ghat at which they bathed, called Surup Ghat, is the resort of pilgrims on the 11th day of Kartik. On the morning of the 12th day the Brahmans came to Brahma and asked where they were to bathe. He directed them to bathe in the Prachin Sarasvati, the stream which passes by the village of Hokran, and it is explained how the Sarasvati, after disappearing underground to escape the heat of the fire which she is carrying to the sea, reappears in five channels (as *Suprabha* which falls into Jyeshth Poshkar, *Sudha* which falls into Madhya Poshkar, *Kanika* which falls into Kanishth Poshkar, *Lakshmi* which flows past Nand, and *Prachi* which passes by Hokran), in the sacred soil of Ushkar, how two of these meet at Nand, five miles from Ushkar, and how from the junction, the river, thereafter called the *Lani*, proceeds to the sea. The sacrifice was disturbed this day by Bata Brahman, who let loose a snake among the Brahmans. The reptile coiled itself round Bhargu Rishi, whose son imprecated a curse against Bata that he might become a lake. Bata, going to his grandfather Brahma, was consoled by the promise that he should be the founder of the ninth order of snakes, and was directed to go to Nagpalar, where he should receive worship on the fifth day of the dark half of *Sawan* at the place called the Nagkand. The sacrifice proceeded till the 15th each day having its appointed duties, for this day the Brahmans were directed to make a circuit of the lakes and to bathe in Gayakup. (The virtues of the *tirth* of Gaya are said to reside in this place, whence the name.) Shortly after their return Savitri appeared, greatly incensed at the disregard which had been shown to her. Brahma sought to pacify her, but to no purpose, and she went away in a rage to the hill north of the lake where is her temple. After the *gayas* performed by Brahma, Pushkar became so holy that the greatest sinner, by merely bathing in it, went to heaven. Heaven became inconveniently crowded, and the gods complained that no longer any man regarded them or his duty, so easy was it to get to heaven. Brahma agreed accordingly that the *tirth* should only be on earth from the 11th day of Kartik to the full moon, and for the remainder of the year he promised to remove the *tirth* to the air (*antariksha*). Such is the legend given in the *Pushkar Mahatmya*."

Read also the short account about the temple of Brahma at Pushkar in the *Indian Caste* by Dr John Wilson, Bombay, 1877, Vol I, p 170. 'The Brahmans don't directly compromise themselves by taking care of the temple (which in point of fact is under the charge of Gosavis), but they lay claim to a share of the offerings at the shrine. The four faces of Brahma on the image are uniform, but they have a lengthened chin in the

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a treasure began to excavate it, but being disappointed in his expectations converted the pit into a water reservoir or *Kōnēru*, in the midst of which he built after his return from Kāśi (Benares) the temple of Brahman, on the model of the one he had seen at Jayapuram. He dedicated it to *Caturmukha Brahmā Liṅgēśvarasvāmi*, the last name being added as the templo was erected according to the Śiva Āgama, because the Āgama Sāstras do not contain measurements for a temple of Brahman. The original name of the pit Brahmaguṇḍa appears to favor the idea that previously to the erection of the temple by Venkatādri Brahman had been worshipped in this district. As the Rāja died before the commencement of the first year's ceremony, his death was regarded as a bad omen, and only daily offerings made and lights are kept in this templo, but no periodical feasts or car festivals are observed. Venkatādri is said to have been under a curse for having treacherously loaded 150 Centsu chiefs whom he had invited to a feast, the immense sums of money he spent on charitable and religious purposes, he regarded as an expiation of his atrocious sin.¹³

¹³ Cēbrōla is also called *Caturmukhopuram*. This name refers to Brahman, but cannot be explained to mean "the city facing the four points of the compass" as Mr. Gordon Mackenzie states in his *Manual of the Etelna District*, p. 203; see also *ibidem*, pp. 301-13.

I am indebted for the following description to Mr. G. Campbell, Sub-Collector, Guntur, dated the 15th December 1890:—"I was at Chebrōla yesterday, and had a look at the temple from the edge of the *kunta* in which it stands. The temple is quite a small square building, and is in a neglected condition. Only one out of the four *Dhvajastambas* is standing, and the other three are very decayed. This is a rough plan, the square being the *kunta* with the temple in the middle, outside being the eight little shrines to the *Dikpalakas*. As far as is known here, this and the *Brahmagaya* temple are the only Brahman temples in India."



Mr. G. Campbell kindly enclosed a report of the Cēbrōla temple, which had been submitted to him by the late M.R. Ry D. V. Chelapati Row, Deputy Tashildar of the Pennur Division. The following is taken

that this hill is really the *Śivānandanīlaya*, the highest peak of the Kailāsa, which Brahman transferred in ancient times to Kālahasti. Of the four faces of Brahman the one which looks towards the south has fangs instead of teeth.

"Namakam, Chamakam and with Sivanamamala after the Smarta fashion. No kind of periodical and car festivals are celebrated except making daily offerings and lightings, &c. The non celebration is said to be due to the bad omen, as the Zamindar who constructed the temple and the car at a great cost having died before the commencement of the first year's ceremony"

"I hear there is another Brahma temple at Jayapuram in the north. It is called Brahmagaya. The temple there is said to be in a tank."

"Brahma images similar to those at Ochebrolo were carved on a Lingam and worshipped. Venkatadri Naidu appears to have built the temple after he had seen the one at Jayapuram when he went to Benares on pilgrimage and named the place Chatarmukham, meaning Brahmapuram. I doubt therefore that Chatarmukhparam means the city facing the four points of the compass, as Mr Mackenzie calls it." (I had intimated this previously as my opinion in a letter to Mr Campbell.)

"The addition Lingavarasvami to Brahma appears to have been added for the following reason. Temples are built according to the Agama Sastram, which treats of the measurement of the several temples. This Sastram is of four sorts with regard to Siva Vishnu, Sakti and Ganapati. No Agama is known to exist which treats of measurements regarding temples dedicated to Brahma, and hence no temple of such sort has been constructed, but Venkatadri Naidu having the vanity to equal the other Rajahs in charity and in the construction of temples, commenced this temple partly arbitrarily and partly with Siva Agama and the addition Lingavarasvami to Brahma."

It is probable that there was originally at Cēbrōlu an old Brahma temple, and that Venkatadri rebuilt this shrine to revive the worship. With respect to the temple at Jayapuram whose construction was undertaken by the Rajah of Cēbrōlu, it is not clear which Jayapura (Jaipur) was meant. There is a well known town of this name in the Vizagapatam district, and another rather more famous place of the same name lies in Rajaputāna not far from the above mentioned Pushkar in the Ajmere District where the famous Brahma temple is situated. This temple is most probably the one alluded in the above printed report.

It must also not be forgotten that a Brahma temple exists at Benares and that Venkatadri visited this town previously to his building the Brahma temple at Cēbrōlu. His death prevented that a special Brahma worship was introduced, and was the cause of the adoption of the Smarta ceremonial. Raja Vasudeva Venkatadri Naidu died in 1816.

Special priests perform daily the prescribed worship in this Brahmadevalaya whose idol goes by the name of *Manikar-nikesvara*

In Kuttanur near Māyavaram the temples of Brahman and Sarasvatī face each other, and Brahman priests worship these two gods as Viann and Laksmī, or Siva and Pārvatī are adored in the respective pagodas. A big temple of Brahman, I am told, exists at Tiruvannāmalai and one devoted to Sarasvatī as *Jnanambika* is at Tiruvālor.¹⁴ Vedāranyam possesses likewise a temple dedicated to the same goddess. Brahman's image occupies an honored place in the temple of Kodumudi near Erode, at Tirukkandiyūr near Tiruvadi, in the Uttamarkōvil near Śrīrangam, at Śālyamaṅgalam and Kila Vānttur near Aiyampettai in the Tanjore district, at Kumbhakōnam and elsewhere. Some contend that there is an image of Brahman in every temple of Siva at the place where the purified water, poured out over the head of Siva, or over the *linga* inside, escapes through the channel.¹⁵

ON THE BRAHMABHUTA

Among the population on the West coast, especially among the Tulus, where the devil worship prevails, Brahman is not only revered as a god, but also as a spirit or Bhuta. In fact all castes worship him, and he is universally adored, he has in reality his special place of worship in

¹⁴ This shrine at Tiruvālor must not be mistaken for that dedicated to Kamslamba which belongs to the Tyagarajasvami temple within whose precincts is also a famous well known as Sarasvatī tirtham.

¹⁵ A temple covered in the sand near the confluence of the Kaveri and Amaravati not far off from Karur is by some ascribed to Brahman by others to Śiva. According to a legend the god Varadarajasvami in Kāñcī puram arose from the flames of a sacrifice performed by Brahman over the Hastasala on which the present garbhagrha stands.

I am indebted for a great part of this information concerning the worship of Brahman in South India to my former pupil and young friend Mr. Nadadur V. Desikacharyar M.A.

nearly every big landed estate At Śirva, Brahman is represented with four heads, his image is about 2 feet high and is made of *Pañcaloha* or the five metals, gold, silver, copper, tin and lead He rides on the goose or hamsa in the usual position, one of his hands holding a water jar, while the other has a rosary or *japamāla*, and the two remaining are folded on the chest and contain the Salagrama. The officiating Brahman or *bhatta* enters the temple daily after his bath with a water jar and pours the water over the image He then fills, while muttering the usual mantras, the holy *sankha* with water and sprinkles the latter over the image This done, he pats sandal and a garland on the head of the idol and offers some cooked rice to the god. These ceremonies occupy about three hours The evening service is the same but only shorter, it lasts about two hours The neighbouring Brahmans and Śūdras celebrate every year a great festival, during which the image of Brahman is carried about within the precincts of the temple and a special *pūja* is performed ¹⁶

¹⁶ The Rev Ch. Gojar at Śirva near Udipi gave the following information to Rev G. Ritter who sent me this report in German through the Rev F. Kittel — "Eine halbe Stunde westlich von Schirwa steht in einem Thal *Warasare* genannt, ein Tempel in welchem ein Bild Brahmas, der 4 Gesichter hat angebetet wird Dasselbe ist gegen 2 hoch und besteht aus *Pantschaloha* Brahma sitzt da auf dem Vogel *Hamsa* Zwei seiner Hände hebt er zur Achsel empor in der einen ein Wassergefäß in der andern einen Rosenkranz (*Japamala*) haltend Die beiden andern Hände hat er vor seiner Brust gefaltet und halt zugleich darin den heiligen Stein (*Salagrama*) Der dienstthuende Brahmane (*Bhatta*) geht täglich nach seinem ublichen Bad mit einem Wassergefäß in den Tempel und giesst das Wasser über das Bild Dann füllt er, während er *Shastras* hersagt seine heilige Muschel (*shankha* genannt) mit Wasser und sprengt dasselbe auf das Bild Hierauf legt er etwas Sandalholz (mehl?) und einen Blumenkranz auf des Gotzen Kopf und setzt ihm eine Portion gekochten Reises vor Alles dies nimt jeden Morgen 3 Stunden in Anspruch Den Abend dienst, der dem des Morgens fast gleich ist absolviert er in 2 Stunden. Ausserdem kommen die Tempelvorsteher, die benachbarten Brahmanen und auch eine Anzahl *Shudras* alljährlich einmal hier zu einem Fest zusam

worlds, or the seventh of the upper worlds commonly known as Satyalōka, the world of the good and virtuous ¹⁰⁴ His favorite abode in fact the paradise of Śiva, is the top of the high Kailāsa mountain which is often frequented by Kubera

His power is supreme, and his vigor is increased by hymns The most sacred Vedic text, the Gāyatrī, has been adapted for his special glorification ¹⁰⁵ A person who does not revere

¹⁰⁴ See Note 19 on p. 301

¹⁰⁵ These altered versions of the Gāyatrī are mainly extant in the Nārāyaṇa pañśad (a portion of the Tattvīya Aranyaka) and in the Līlaguṇa In the former extract the deities invoked are Rudra Dantī Nand Saṃmakha Garuḍa Brahman Viṣṇu Narasimha Aditya Agni and Durgā (standing for Durgā) The prayers in the Līlaguṇa begin and end with Śiva (Rudra) and his wife Caṇḍī (Durgā) and after the verses in honour of his sons veḥ cloanī follower come those concerning Viṣṇu Brahman and the x guardans of the quarters of the world with the omission of Kubera and Śīśāna (Śiva) instead of whom stand Rudra and Durgā As I shall return to this subject I quote here in full those passages

Nārāyaṇa pañśad I 5—7 (Telugu edition pp 894 895)

Puruṣāya v dīmah salasrakāśya mahā vasya dīmah tauno Rudra
pracodayat Tatpuruṣāya v īnīh vakratantjaya dhīmahi tauno Dantī
pracodayat Tatpuruṣāya v īmah cakratantjaya dīmah tauno Na dī
pracodayat Tatpuruṣāya vidmah mahāśanaya dhīmahi tanna Sa
mulhāh pracodayāt Tatpuruṣāya v īmah sūvarṇapakāśya dīmah
tauno Garuḍa pracodayat Ved tmanaya v īmah hiraṇyagarbhaya
dhīmahi tauno Brahman pracodayat Nārāyaṇa vidmah v āndevaya
dhīmahi tanna Viṣṇu pracodayat Vajranaklāya vidmah tīkṣṇadam
strava dī nālī tann Narasimha pracodayat Bhaskaraya vidmah
mahadyut karaya dī mahā tauno Aditya pracodayat Vasānarava
v dīmah lālāya dhīmahi tann Agni pracodayāt Kātyāyana vidmah
kanyakumārī dhīmahi tann Durgā pracodayāt

With respect to Kātyāyana and Durgā Śāṅkara says in his commentary that the expression Kātyāyana refers to the worship of Durgā that Durgā is for Durgā and that the Vedic language is not strict in its forms (Durgā prārtīyāt Kātyāyana ja it Durgā Durgā

1 gā v yātyāyā sarvāt / chāndas draṣṭavyāh)

See Līlaguṇa II 1 / 4—5 (Telugu edition p 396)

1 Saktin v sarvākārāṇaṃ yonukāṃ vidh jāt

Gāyatrī kalpa cchambhī sarvāṣmāpi jāt nāt

5 Sarv Rudrāminjā yasmāt sarkī pūṇa vadīmī va

(Mantram. Gāyatrī dīh)

Tatpuruṣāya vidmah vāgśīrīndhaya dhīmahi tanna Śiva pracodayāt

Śiva does not obtain final beatitnde ¹⁰⁶ He seizes his victims at a sacrifice, and accepts even human creatures as offerings He is shunned and feared in consequence of his violence and fierceness He cursed and turned to ashes Kandarpa, the god of love offended by Dakṣa, his father in law, he interrupted and nullified his sacrifice and in the shape of Virabhadra cut off his head, he pulled out the beard of

Ganambikayai vidmahe karmas ddhym ca dh mahi tanno Gaur praco
dayat -

Tatpuruṣaya vidmahe mahādevaya dh mahātanno Rudra! pracidayat
Tatpuruṣaya vidmahe vakratundaya dh mahātanno Paṇṭih pracidayat
Mahāśaṇaya vidmahe vāgvisuddhāya dh mahātannaḥ Śaṇḍa! praco
dayat

T lsmāṅgaya v dmahe vedapadaya dī mah tanno Vrsal pracodayat
Harivaktraya vidmahe rudravaktraya dh n ab tanno Nan l ; raco layat
Narayanaya vidmahe Vasudeva ya dh ma l : tanno V su pracodayat
Mabamb kava vidmahe karmas dhyai ca dhimal tanno Luken l pra
codayat

Samuddhrtaya v dmahe vi nana Lens di mahi tanno Dhara pra vdayat
Vainateyaya vidmale suvarnapalasya dh mahi tanno Garu lal praco
dayat

Padmedbi araya vidmahe vedavaktraya dh mahi tanur! Sraṣ a praco
darat

S vasyajaya vidmahe devaṣṭa paya dhīmaḥ tanno Vaca pracodayāt
 Devarajaya vidmahe vajrabastaya dhīmaḥ tanno Sakra pracodayāt
 Rudranetraya vidmahe śaktibastaya dhīmaḥ tanno Vānu pracodayāt
 Vaisravataya viśvamahe dandabastaya dhīmaḥ tanno Yamal pracodayāt
 Nīlacaraya vidmahe klāṅgabastaya dhīmaḥ tanno Nṛṣṭi pracodayāt
 Suddhahastaya vidmahe pāśabastaya dhīmaḥ tanno Varuṇa pracodayāt
 Sarvaśrāṇaya vidmahe yaśṭībastaya dhīmaḥ tanno Vayu pracodayāt
 Sarveśvaraya vidmahe śīlabastaya dhīmaḥ tanno Rudra pracodayāt
 Kātyāyanya vidmahe laṅgakumarya dhīmahi tanno Durga pracodayāt
 Eṣāmaḥ rābhīḥ dyaḥ svatrā mātā itaddevānūrupatā

Professor Albrecht Weber first drew attention to these Gayatri's in the first volume of his *Indische Studien* and Dr J. Müller has treated on this subject in his *Original Sanskrit Texts* Vol III pp 963-964 and Vol IV pp 425-430.

64 Sivapujam vina jantol nuki r na va bhavet bhu (S ta.nml tā)
Siva is addressed by his worshper with the following prayer

Vande Śambhūm Umapat m suragurum vande jagatkaramam vande
 jannagabhiṣanam mṛgadharā u vande paśu nām pat m vande suryaśa
 śankavahu nayanam van le waku dāpriya u vaud bhaktajānastriya
 ca varadaṇ vande Śyam ba lara

Bhrgu who had offended him by his laughter, he tore out the eyes of Bhava after he had felled him to the ground, and beat out the teeth of Pusan who, while laughing, had shown his teeth.¹⁰⁷

Śiva is worshipped all over India. In the North he is revered in the Himālaya, who, personified as the god of the mountain, is the father of his wife Umā or Pārvatī. At Gangādvāra, where the earthly Gangā breaks through the mountain peaks, his shrine is crowded with pious believers. Celebrated temples of Śiva are in Gokarna in the West, in Kalūga in the East, and South-India abounds particularly in sacred places devoted to his worship. If the number of localities and of shrines dedicated to Śiva affords an estimate of the extent of his popularity, he must be certainly considered the most generally revered god of the Indian pantheon, and his worshippers rank among the most powerful portion of the Indian population. This popularity he also owes greatly to the qualities ascribed to him, qualities which appeal particularly to the sympathy of the aboriginal inhabitants. And in fact of all the three gods of the Trimūrti it is Śiva, who, by his intimate connection with the earth, represents chiefly the Non-Aryan or Turanian element in the Hindu theogony, and he does this in his capacity of lord of the mountain and master of the ghosts. The worship of the ancient Ganda-Dravidians was specially celebrated on mountain tops, his wife Pārvatī was the mountain goddess *kar' ēḥoxhū*, while to their son Subrahmanya are sacred all the hills and mountain peaks.

To Śiva are ascribed twenty-five various forms or *līlās*, and according to the Līngapurāṇa also twenty-eight *avatāras*.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ With this legend is connected the custom of cooking rice in milk (*pāṇḍigal*) in the Pōṅgal festival, in order to present it to the toothless Pūṣa.

¹⁰⁸ They are called. Candraśekhara, Umāpatī, Vṛṣabhavāhana, Mahā-tāṇḍava, Girijākalyāṇa, Bhikṣātana, Manmathadadhana, Kālanardana,

When worshipping Śiva, his followers draw with ashes of cowdung the Vibhūti on their foreheads, and place in the middle of the second line a black dot or aksata. They also besmear their bodies with sandal-powder and hang a rosary of rudrākṣa-berries (rudrākṣamālī) round their necks. Śiva is, however, principally adored in the form of the linga

On the Linga

The emblem of his worship is the linga. Its origin in India is shrouded in mystery, and the opinions of competent scholars are greatly divided whether to ascribe to it an Aryan or a Non-Aryan source

There occur in the Rgveda two words which have been connected with the linga, the terms *śisnadēvāh* and *vaitasa*.¹⁰⁰ No competent authority applies the expression *śisnadēvāh* to the Non-Aryans, as if the god they adored was the *sina* or *membrum virile*. The commentary ascribed to Sāyana gives as its meaning *unchaste men*, though we are not compelled to abide by this rendering. Professor von Roth translates it in German as *Schwanzgotter*, implying by this expression, that the original term should be taken sarcastically as priapic or sensual demons. *Sina* signifies also tail.¹¹⁰

Triparaharasa, Jalandharaharasa, Mahalinga, Dakṣadhravaraharasa, avira, bhadra, Sarabhendra, Ardhanārīśvara, Brahmaśiroharna, Kai kāladbhara, khaṇḍīśvara, Viśpāna, Cakradana, Ganesa, Somaskanda, Natesa, Sukha mūrti, Pakṣiāmūrti and Gaigādhara. Compare Note 21 p 308

About the Avataṛas see *Langapurana*, VII, 30—35, and XXIV. These 28 avataṛas are Svēta, Sūta, Damana, Sahotra, Kaika, Lokakṣi, Jaigisavya, Dadhiva, hanu, Raabha, Muni, Ugra, Atri, Subalaka, Gautama, Vedaśiras, Gokarna, Guhavam, Sikkha, dabhrt, Jātimahū, Attahasa, Daruka, Langahū, Mahakaya, Sulū, Maṇḍīśvara, Sahisnu, Somaśarman and Lakulū.

¹⁰⁰ See about *śisnadēvāh* Rgveda VII, 21, 5 and X, 99, 3, and about *vaitasa* Rgveda X, 95, 4 and 5

¹¹⁰ Sīyanta to Rgveda VII, 21, 5. "*śisnadēvāh śisnena divyanti kṛdanti itī śisnadēvāh, abrahmacaryāh ityarthah, tatha ca Yaskah śisnadēvāh abrahmacaryah*" *Daṇḍa* the commentator on the Nirukta explains *śisnadēvāh* by *śisnena nityam eva prakṛnabhūh stūbhīh salūm kṛdanti*

Bhrgu who had offended him by his laughter, he tore out the eyes of Bhava after he had felled him to the ground and beat out the teeth of Pūṣan who, while laughing, had shown his teeth.¹⁰⁷

Śiva is worshipped all over India. In the North he is revered in the Himalaya, who, personified as the god of the mountain, is the father of his wife Umā or Pārvatī. Gangādvarā where the earthly Gāṅgā breaks through mountain peaks, his shrine is crowded with pious believers. Celebrated temples of Śiva are in Gokarna in the West, Kārnāṭa in the East, and South India abounds particularly in sacred places devoted to his worship. If the number of localities and of shrines dedicated to Śiva affords an estimate of the extent of his popularity, he must be certainly considered the most generally revered god of the Indian theon, and his worshippers rank among the most preponderant portion of the Indian population. This popularity owes greatly to the qualities ascribed to him, qualities which appeal particularly to the sympathy of the aboriginal inhabitants. And in fact of all the three gods of the trinity it is Śiva, who by his intimate connection with earth, represents chiefly the Non-Aryan or Aṅglo element in the Hindu theogony, and he is also his capacity of lord of the mountain and of the ghosts. The worship of the ancient Gāṅgā was specially celebrated on mountain peaks. Pārvatī was the mountain goddess and to her son Subrahmaṇya are sacred the mountain peaks.

10 Śiva are ascribed twenty five names according to the *Langamāna* also to

¹⁰⁷ With this legend is connected the milk (*palpongal*) in the Pongal festival in the P. Pan.

¹⁰⁸ They are called Candrasekhara, Iṭṭanāyaka, Gajakalyana, Bhikṣu, Ma-

"he had all the Rudras present with him, though he had
 "not invited Śiva, and that none of the ancient Munis
 "except Dadhicha, looked on Śiva as possessing any right
 "to a share in the sacrifice, and that, moreover, his sacred
 "rites were not performed after the Brahmanical method
 "If it is impossible to identify Śiva with any of the gods
 "of the Veda, much less is it possible to trace any connec-
 "tion between the symbol of the Linga, under which he
 "is usually adored, and any of the ancient Brahmanical
 "emblems There is an obscure intimation in the Linga
 "Purāna itself, that the worship of the Linga was only
 "introduced at a late period Our conclusion from these
 "authorities in reference to the worship of Śiva is strength-
 "ened by the fact, that the sacred places considered as
 "the peculiar residence of Jyoti-Lingas, are generally in
 "the south and north-east of India, at a great distance
 "from the originally Brahmanical Settlements, to the
 "north of the Ganges and west of the Sarasvati, none
 "being nearer than Mount Abu in Guzerat, and that the
 "south of India is almost the only place where the sect of
 "the Lingiyats abounds, and that in the south and east
 "of India the worshippers of Śiva and his incarnations,
 "are far more numerous than those of Vishnu, while in the
 "north-west the contrary is the case That the Linga is
 "not originally a Brahmanical object of worship, seems to
 "me very evident by a fact that I have not seen noticed,
 "but which as far as the Marathi country, where Saivas
 "greatly prevail, is concerned, I can vouch for from an
 "extensive observation, it is, that no Brahman officiates
 "in a Linga temple The Brahmans alone officiate as
 "image dressers in the temples of Vishnu, and of all the
 "gods connected with the ancient Brahmanical worship,
 "but for the temples of the Linga, a distinct order of men
 "originally of Sudra origin, have been set apart, and form
 "now a separate caste under the name "Garavā"

The late Professor Christian Lassen thought that the *linga* was an emblem peculiar to the aboriginal inhabitants of India, as it is particularly used by Śiva's worshippers in South India, and because Brāhmins never officiate in South India as priests in such *linga*-temples¹¹² He further speaks of a goddess *Mahasahā*, the mother of the gods, which is revered in the shape of a *linga* or of a Phallus.¹¹³ The word *Mahasahā* appears to stand for *Mahisahā*, a popular form for *Mahisaghnī*, slayer of the demon *Mahisā*, which is an epithet of *Durgā*, however, I do not know anything about her connection with the *linga*-worship. Professor Lassen's opinion was mostly founded on the statements of the Rev Dr Stovenson Tho Rev Dr. Germann, in his

¹¹² See Christian Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol I, pp 924, 925 (old edition, p 783), "*Śiva* ist auch ein Vertilger der bösen Geister Die Verehrung dieses Gottes unter dem Bilde des *linga*, des *Phallus*, wird schon in mehreren Stellen des grossen Epos erwähnt Da dieses Symbol besonders bei den Verehrern des *Śiva* im südlichen Indien im Gebrauche ist, lässt sich vermuthen dass es bei den Urbewohnern sich vorfand und erst später auf *Śiva* übertragen worden ist Was dafür spricht, ist dieses, dass noch jetzt die Brahmanen des Südens nie bei Tempeln, in welchem das *linga* verehrt wird das Amt des Priesters annehmen" Compare *ibidem*, Vol IV, pp 233, 237, and 617 "Die Verehrung des *Śiva* zählt in dem grossen Gebiete im Norden des *Vindhya* jetzt wenig eifrige Anhänger obwohl es eine bedeutende Zahl von ihm geweihten Tempeln giebt, in denen er in der Gestalt des *linga* oder des *Phallus* angebetet wird, eine Ausnahme bildet nur sein Tempel in *Benares*, wo er den Namen *Pietertara*, d h Herr des Alls, führt Dagegen waltet hent zu Tage der Kelt dieser Gottheit in *Dekhan* vor"

¹¹³ *Ibidem*, Vol IV, p 265 "Ferner in dem Dienste der *Holi* und der *Malāsahā* genannten Göttinnen; das Fest der ersten Göttin ist einem Karneval ähnlich; die zweite Göttin gilt als Mutter der Gotter und wird in der Gestalt eines *linga* oder eines *Phallus* angebetet" The Rev F Kittel, in his excellent essay *Ueber den Ursprung des Lingakultus in Indien*, Mangalore, 1876, remarks on pp 9, 10 "Mit Bezug auf die im Nordwestlichen *Dekhan* verehrte Göttin *Mahāsahā* muss der Schreiber dieses bekennen, dass er eine solche nicht kennt wie es auch Andern ausser ihm geht Der Name selbst ist indess Sanscrit 'sie die mächtig aushalt,' oder 'sie die mächtig siegt' Dieser Umstand deutet auf einen ärischen character" The Marathi *Mahisā* stands for the Sanskrit *Mahisā*

edition of Ziegenbalg's *Genealogy of the Malabar Gods*, supported the opinion of his predecessors and tried to strengthen the argument in favor of the Non-Aryan origin of the *linga* by the statement that Ravana, the representative of the aborigines of South India was according to the *Uttarakāṇḍa* of the *Ramayana*, a staunch votary of the *linga*, carrying in fact always with him a golden *linga* which he worshipped with incense and flowers. He also refers to the legend according to which Ravana was waylaid by Ganapati at Gokarna when he was on his way to Lanka and compelled to leave the *Prāṇa-Linga*, which he had extorted from Śiva by his severe penance at the first named place on the Western coast ¹¹⁴. I have alluded to this story previously and given the version supplied by the late Hon Visvanāth Nāiāyan Mandhuk, and I also referred to an account contained in the Archaeological Survey of India concerning the temple of Mahādeva Rāvanasvara at Baijnāth in Bengal ¹¹⁵.

¹¹⁴ See *Genealogie der Malabarischen Götter* von Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg, erster Abdruck besorgt durch Dr. Wilhelm Germann Madras, 1867, p. 156, Note "Von Ravana dem Vertreter der südlichen Ureinwohner wird in Uttarakāṇḍa Ramāyanam erwähnt, dass überall wohin er ging, ein goldnes Linga mit ihm getragen wurde, welches mit Weihrauch und Blumen verehrt wurde. Ferner die Sage, nach welcher Vajayaka in etwas hübischer Weise dem Ravana die übliche Verehrung abzwängt, zeigt ihn uns ein Linga nach Lanka bringend (freilich angeblich von Kailass), der Tempel welches Linga jetzt Gokarna heissen soll (Sava Sam V, V, IV Fr 18 ff). Also Ravana erscheint immer mit dem Linga."

Another *Paṇḍita* the son of Indrapit the third King of Kāśmīr after Gonanda III (perhaps identical with King Kaniska of the Saka era) erected the *Vaṭṭasvara linga*.

¹¹⁵ See above, pp 136—138. I have alluded there to the legend given in the Archaeological Survey of India, Vol VIII, pp 143—145, and as it contains some peculiar items, I now quote it below. "Ravana used daily to go to Uttara Khanda (sic) to worship Śiva. One day he went there, and in the exuberance of physical strength he shook the mountain, disturbing Pārvatī. Having done this, he went towards Śiva's abode to worship, when he approached, Śanda forbade his advance, as Śiva and Pārvatī were asleep together. Ravana, however, was not to be denied,

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